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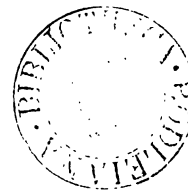
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

BY

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HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

Chapter I.—Early History.

Great Britain in the present day consists of but one monarchy. It is governed by only one power, which is seated in London, the metropolis. Such was not always the case. At one period the island consisted of two distinct countries, each independent of the other—England and Scotland.

The history of England, or the southern portion of Great Britain, has already been given in this series. We have now to speak of Scotland, the northern and lesser portion. Scotland, as is well known, is a generally mountainous country, and was for ages governed by its own kings, and had its own peculiar laws. When the Romans subdued England they pushed

their conquests northward; but in consequence of the natural difficulties of the country, and the fierce character of the people, they never thoroughly conquered Scotland. All the more southern portion of it they mastered; and to protect themselves from the northern barbarians, as they termed them, they built a strong wall, which stretched from the Firth of Forth to the Firth of Clyde. The line of this wall was nearly that which is now pursued by the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway. The natives, disliking to be kept north of this wall, broke through it; and finally the Romans withdrew within the limits of what is now England, and there sheltered themselves by another wall, which extended from the Solway to the Tyne. The line of this wall was nearly that which is now pursued by the railway from Carlisle to Newcastle-on-Tyne.

At the time when the Romans made these attempts at conquest and settlement, the northern region of Great Britain was not called Scotland. That is a comparatively modern name. The Romans called the country Caledonia, and its people Caledonians—a name which is said to signify "dwellers in woods." But in

truth the origin of the term is not well ascertained. Another appellation given to the native people was that of Picts—a word which is also of puzzling origin and meaning. Both names, however, were abandoned, if ever they were really given in a popular sense, and the country took the name of Scotland, from a race called Scots, who came from Ireland, and first settled in Cantyre, a peninsula in Argyleshire, whence they spread over the country.

The Scots, it seems, were converted to Christianity before their emigration from Ireland, and being followed to their new home by Christian missionaries, by the zeal of the latter the Christian faith was soon spread among the Picts also, who had until then been followers of the Druidical religion, the same as existed among the Britons. Up to the beginning of the ninth century, however, the fruits of Christianity were but little visible in North Britain: for all that we know of the history of the country represents it as the scene of constant and sanguinary struggles for supremacy between the Picts and the Scots. At length in 853 a Scottish king, Kenneth by name, won a final and decisive battle over the Picts, who never after that period

regained their former strength, and who were ultimately entirely absorbed by the Scots. When this was accomplished the whole country, from the Forth to the Northern Ocean, was embraced within the Scottish kingdom, the limits of which continued still to extend, until in 1020, under Malcolm I., they spread as far as the second wall built by the Romans—from the mouth of the Tyne to the Solway Firth. The dominion thus established continued for a long while to be troubled by those constant rebellions, wars, and invasions, which mark the primitive history of all nations, and through which, slowly and painfully, they work their way up in the scale of humanity. Against the maritime invasions of the Danes and Norwegians in particular, the Scots had to maintain a formidable struggle, from which, however, they came out victorious. The warlike Northmen, who founded kingdoms in so many of the more-favoured countries of Europe, never established any permanent dominion in Scotland, though it is evident, from the intermixture of Danish words in the popular language of some parts of Scotland, that many Northmen must have settled in the country.

During the reign of Kenneth III., son of Malcolm, Scotland was indeed at one moment in imminent danger of becoming the prey of the insatiable Northern rovers. The Danes, partly it seems with a view to avenge the many defeats their countrymen had suffered in Scotland, sailed with a formidable fleet into the mouth of the river Esk, and having landed their forces, penetrated far into the country, spreading devastation and murder around them. Crossing the river Tay they were met by Kenneth, who had at length assembled an army to oppose to them. Much bravery was shewn on both sides, and much blood shed; but victory was about to decide for the Danes, when, according to tradition, the independence of Scotland was saved by the determination and presence of mind of one individual. The Danes had routed both wings of Kenneth's army, and his men were in full flight, eagerly pursued by the enemy, when a Scot, by name Hay, a man of humble birth, who was at work with his two sons in a field along which they were speeding, caught up a yoke, and placing himself with his sons in front of a narrow gap through which they had to pass, endeavoured first by entreaties to stop

their flight. Finding this of no avail, he next declared that he and his sons "would be as so many Danes to those who ran away;" and he no doubt suited the action to the words. Arrested by the threat, the more dastardly among the fugitives came to a stand-still, and the more courageous spirits, who had been carried along in the general flight against their will, rallied, and calling out that help was at hand, turned round and faced the enemy to so much purpose that the fortunes of the day were turned. After the victory, which was unanimously ascribed to the bravery and resolution of Hay, the honest countryman was brought before the king, who, wishing to shew him every honour, ordered fine clothes to be given to the father and sons, in order that they might in these make their triumphant entry into Perth, in the neighbourhood of which town, at a place called Luncarty, the battle had been fought. But Hay modestly declined a dress which was not suited to his condition, and merely brushing the dust off his homely garment, and shouldering the yoke with which he had opposed the passage of the fugitives, he joined the triumphal procession in this guise. Lands and honours were, however, bestowed upon Hay,

who is said to have been the founder of one of the noble families in Scotland.

Kenneth III. seems to have made great efforts to settle the succession to the crown in Scotland in the direct line; but already, in the second generation after him, private ambition set at naught this wise provision. Kenneth was followed on the throne by his son Malcolm II., a warlike and prudent monarch. He also victoriously combated the Danes, who made incursions into his kingdom from England, where they had then anew established their dominion; and when he had restored peace, he endeavoured to secure the prosperity of the country by the promulgation of wise laws. Malcolm was in his turn succeeded by his grandson Duncan—a prince of a mild and benignant, but somewhat indolent disposition. During his reign the Danes again ravaged the country; but were ultimately completely defeated by two valiant generals, Banquo and Macbeth, the latter of whom was a cousin of the king. This haughty and ambitious man, who had always entertained great contempt for Duncan because of his easy and unwarlike temperament, had allowed himself to hope that the kingdom might one day

pass into his own more energetic hands, to the exclusion of the king's two infant sons. In these hopes tradition says he was greatly strengthened by a dream or vision, in which three majestic women, above common mortals in appearance, presented themselves before him, and saluted him successively as—thane of Angus, thane of Murray, and king of Scotland. Having given himself up thus completely to the idea of his own future grandeur, and being further instigated by his wife, Macbeth, at length perceiving that Duncan was taking measures to secure the throne to his son Malcolm, sacrificed every sentiment of duty and humanity to his ambition. Secretly, and with the help of Banquo, he put Duncan to death, and had himself proclaimed king in his stead. As such, Macbeth seems for a time to have distinguished himself as a ruler; but the remembrance of his crime left him no peace: he thought he detected looks of suspicion in all those who surrounded him, and was ultimately so wrought upon by his fears of betrayal, that he also treacherously murdered Banquo, his accomplice, and the son of the latter. This caused a formal breach between Macbeth and all the powerful thanes or nobles, who with-

drew from his society, and evinced much fear and distrust of him. Their conduct in this respect further disturbed the king's uneasy conscience, and irritated his temper, so that instead of endeavouring to conciliate those whom his own crimes had made his enemies, he oppressed them and tyrannised over them in every way. Among other things it is said that being anxious to build a strong castle in which he would be safe against all attacks, he selected for the site a steep eminence called Dunsinane Hill; and the undertaking being connected with great difficulties, he ordered that all the thanes in his kingdom should divide the task among them, so that each should in his turn provide workmen and materials, and should be present in person to superintend the works. When the turn came to Macduff, thane of Fife, this nobleman, fearing to trust himself in the king's power, refused to appear in person, though he despatched the required workmen. Macbeth, greatly irritated by this act of disobedience, gave utterance to some severe threat against the refractory thane, on hearing which, Macduff, deeming it safest to place himself beyond the tyrant's reach, repaired to the court of the Saxon king, Edward of Eng-

land, surnamed the Confessor, where Duncan's son Malcolm had sought and found refuge after the murder of his father. This young prince having now attained the age of manhood, was advised by Macduff to make an effort to regain his father's kingdom; and having returned into Scotland, he was joined by all the enemies of the tyrant, who, seeing himself deserted by his people, was obliged to flee precipitately, and to leave the crown to the rightful heir.

The reign of Malcolm III., surnamed Canmore, or the Large-headed, marks the commencement of a new and comparatively enlightened era in Scottish history, the king's marriage with a pious and highly-cultivated English princess, who exercised great influence over him, and the influx of numbers of Anglo-Saxon families who were driven out of England by the Norman conquest, contributing considerably to raise Scotland in the scale of civilisation. The Gaelic or Celtic language, which, owing to the Celtic descent of the Scottish kings, had until then been the language of the court, was now abandoned for the Anglo-Saxon, the language of the people in the Lowlands; and like the Anglo-Saxon of England, this soon received a

strong admixture of Norman French from the Normans, many of whom, abandoning the standard of William the Conqueror, took refuge in Scotland, and established themselves there. Malcolm Canmore also removed the seat of government, which had until then been established at Forteviot in Perthshire, to Dunfermline in the Lowlands, and in his reign it is supposed that the titles and usages of chivalry were introduced into Scotland; and this is the more likely, as this prince had long dwelt at the court of England, where Norman fashions were then beginning to prevail.

During the reign of one of the immediate successors of Malcolm, the Western Islands, or Hebrides, which until then had been included in the Scottish monarchy, were taken possession of by Magnus, king of Norway, and the peace and prosperity which the country enjoyed during the thirty-six years of Malcolm's reign were frequently interrupted until the accession of his youngest son, David I., in 1124. This prince, who governed the country well in peace and war, was a great promoter of religion and of justice. On certain days in the week he sat at the gates of his palace to listen to the com-

plaints even of the poorest among his subjects; and deeming the clergy the greatest promoters of civilisation among his people, he founded and richly endowed many churches and monasteries. Malcolm III. had added Cumberland to the possessions of the Scottish crown, and David I. acquired by marriage the counties of Huntingdon and Northumberland; but Malcolm IV., David's grandson, who succeeded him in 1153, and who, being weak of mind and character, was little respected at home or abroad, was again tricked out of the latter county by King Henry II. of England, of whose crown the three English counties were held in fief. Under Malcolm's brother and successor, William, surnamed the Lion, who followed him on the throne in 1160, the dissensions with England to which this gave rise brought a great humiliation upon Scotland, and laid the seeds of much future misery. William, a bold and chivalrous prince, immediately on his accession demanded the restitution of the fief of which his brother had been deprived, which, however, under one pretence or another, Henry II. continued to refuse. Highly exasperated at this, William at length declared war against England, and com-

menced operations by laying siege to Alnwick Castle in Northumberland. Here, one day, when riding at some distance from his troops with a small number of attendants only, the king of Scotland was surprised by a party of English, who had laid themselves in ambush for the purpose, and in spite of his gallant resistance he was taken prisoner and conducted to Falaise in Normandy, where he was retained until his people consented to barter their independence for his liberty. The Scottish kings had hitherto done homage to the kings of England for such territories as they held south of the river Tweed, to do so for certain lands being, according to the feudal customs, nowise derogatory to the dignity of a monarch. But now Henry II., having the king of Scotland completely in his power, demanded that he should pay fealty to him for the whole of his dominions; thus converting the kingdom of Scotland into a mere dependency on the English crown, and the Scottish sovereigns into vassals of the kings of England. To a proud people like the Scots, and a chivalrous monarch like William, the proposal must have been a bitter humiliation, but it was nevertheless acceded to; and William, having

been released from captivity, proceeded to York with the chief nobles and prelates of Scotland, and took the oath of obedience to King Henry. Happily for Scotland Henry's son and successor, Richard Cœur-de-Lion, being some years afterwards anxious to depart for the Crusades, in order to obtain the pecuniary means required for his expedition, consented for a sum of money to restore the independence of Scotland; and William having paid down 10,000 merks, he and his successors for ever were absolved from the obligation imposed by Henry II.

In spite of this perfectly legal transaction, however, the kings of England repeatedly preferred claims to sovereignty over Scotland, thereby causing manifold evils to that country. Already, towards the close of the long and prosperous reign of Alexander II., William's son and successor, Henry III. of England, though too weak even to maintain his authority at home, made an attempt to revive the claim upon Scotland. The Scottish king and his nobles, however, evinced so firm a resolution to resist the usurpation to the last, and the English barons shewed so little inclination to support their monarch in his rash enterprise, that he was obliged to

abandon it. A treaty of peace between the two countries was in consequence concluded before even their armies had met; and to render this still more binding, a matrimonial engagement was entered into in the name of the son of the king of Scotland and the daughter of the king of England, both babies. Five years after (1249) Alexander II. died, and his son, then a boy of eight years of age, followed him on the throne.

The two centuries which elapsed between the accession of Malcolm II. and the death of Alexander II. had wrought a great change in the kingdom of Scotland, which was, however, at this last period, still very different from what it is now. The immense forests of oak, beech, and ash, through which the savage Caledonians used to roam, still in a great measure covered the face of the country, and were still peopled with the bears, wolves, boars, and other wild animals, the flesh of which constituted their sole nourishment, and whose skins served them for raiment; but large districts in the midst of the woods had now been cleared and brought under cultivation, and produced oats, wheat, and various other grains for the subsistence of the

populations of numerous hamlets, gathered round the royal and baronial castles, the rich abbeys and monasteries, and the stately cathedrals which dotted the country in all directions. The fields, the mountain sides, and the open glades in the forests, were amply stocked with cattle, sheep, and swine, and with large troops of horses, raised for the knights and barons and their warlike retainers, as well as for peaceful labour. Towns or royal burghs, as they were then called, had also already risen to some importance; and being almost exclusively inhabited by English immigrants, more advanced in the arts of commerce and industry than the Scots, formed so many points from which improvements gradually spread through the country.

As regards the political institutions of the country, they were, in the Lowlands more particularly, very similar to those of England—the original Celtic customs and manners being, like the purely Celtic population and language, confined to the Highlands and islands, although even there the feudal system which prevailed throughout the rest of the kingdom had been partially introduced. The country was,

like England, divided into shires, each presided over by some mighty baron, mostly of Norman or Saxon descent, who to the title of earl added the name of the county over which they ruled. Parliaments also, in which all the great feudatories of the crown had seats, and into which the other estates of the realm were gradually admitted, had likewise been established in imitation of England; and the laws were administered by the king in person, who for this purpose was continually moving from place to place holding courts, which were called Justice Ayres.

Chapter II.—Alexander III.—The Maid of Norway—John Baliol.

Alexander III. was on one and the same day made a belted knight and a crowned king. According to the customs of the times, even a king's son was expected to win his spurs by the performance of some deed of prowess,

but Alexander had scarcely left the nursery. Another custom, however, exacted that a prince must be a knight before he could be a king. To obviate the difficulty, and to escape the danger which might accrue to the country were the coronation to be postponed, the bishop of St Andrews, at the suggestion of the nobles most devoted to the crown, undertook to perform the ceremony of knighting the king as well as of crowning him. The first being over, the boy was, according to the ancient customs of the land, conducted to the abbey-church of Scone, and made to ascend a flat, black stone, placed in front of the altar, and said to have been brought from Ireland by Fergus, the founder of his race. Having taken his seat on this stone, on which a long line of Scottish monarchs had been crowned, the royal circlet was placed on his head, the sceptre in his hand, the royal mantle was thrown over his shoulders, and the nobles defiling past their youthful sovereign, threw down their mantles, and did homage, kneeling at his feet. A Highland bard or senachy, with flowing silvery locks, then advanced, and by way of proving the new king's right to the throne, recited his genealogy back to the times of

Fergus; and the ceremony of the coronation was complete.

The next event in the boy-king's life was his marriage with the Princess of England, which was celebrated at York with great pomp in 1251, neither bridegroom nor bride having at the time attained the age of eleven years. A thousand knights in robes of silk attended the bride, while the king of Scotland was surrounded by the most distinguished vassals of his crown, and by the highest dignitaries of the Scottish church. Tournaments and balls and processions succeeded each other for many days; and such was the number of guests, and the profuse hospitality of the hosts, that at one feast six hundred oxen were spent upon the first course. In the midst of the festivities an attempt was made to induce the king of Scotland to do homage for his kingdom to the king of England; but the boy, with a spirit and discretion above his years, refused to take any step of such importance without the assent of the estates of his realm, and the plan was frustrated. During the whole of Alexander's minority, however, his father-in-law, or rather the persons who reigned in the name of the

latter, continued their insidious interference in the affairs of Scotland, and their endeavours to bring that kingdom into dependence on the crown of England. These attempts were meanly seconded by one party among the Scottish nobles, and as nobly and perseveringly resisted by another; but the struggle reduced the country to a state of great misery. The law and the king's authority were held in contempt; the vassals of the barons, engaged in civil warfare, had no time to give to peaceful labour; the fields therefore lay waste, and violence and plunder were resorted to to satisfy those wants for which industry had failed to provide. However, soon after Alexander attained his majority, the royal power was considerably strengthened by a splendid victory won over King Haco of Norway, who had fitted out a formidable expedition against Scotland, and by the acquisition of the sovereignty over the Western Islands, which, since the close of the eleventh century, had been dependent on the crown of Norway; while the death of Henry III. of England for a short while put an end to the intrigues of the English court. Alexander's time was now spent in the manner most honourable

to a king and a ruler. Attended by his justiciary and other high dignitaries, and by a military force sufficient to awe into submission those who might be inclined to resist, he made progresses through the country, inquiring into all grievances, redressing such as could be redressed, and punishing evil-doers, whatever their rank and power. His love of justice, his affability, the facility with which all classes of his subjects could gain access to him, and the patience with which he listened to them, won the hearts of his whole people, and gained for his reign the highest encomiums from the ancient chroniclers.

In 1274 Alexander's queen died, and in 1277 her brother, the king of England, Edward I.—one of the ablest and most ambitious monarchs that ever sat upon the throne of that country—began to evince the same designs against the independence of Scotland as had been entertained by his father. Alexander now, as before, evaded the snares spread for him, and endeavoured to strengthen his position by marrying his daughter to King Eric of Norway, and his son, the Prince of Scotland, to the daughter of the Count of Flanders. But the cheerful pro-

spects thus opened to the nation were soon overclouded. About a year subsequent to his marriage the Prince of Scotland died, leaving no children, and immediately after intelligence was received of the death of the young queen of Norway, who had given birth to a daughter. Alexander III., thus left a childless widower in the prime of his life, contracted in 1285 a second marriage with the beautiful Joleta, daughter of the Count de Dreux; but a few months later, when riding past Inverkeithing, on a dark night, his horse fell with him over a rocky cliff above the sea, and the king was killed on the spot.

The dark clouds which had for some time been gathering around Scotland grew more lowering, and were soon to burst forth in a dreadful storm; for the crown of the country had now devolved upon a female infant, dwelling in a distant land. The baby-princess, who became queen of Scotland at Alexander's death, was his grandchild, the daughter of the deceased queen of Norway, she having been previously acknowledged by the estates as heir to the kingdom. But the proud and turbulent nobles of Scotland were too much accustomed

to set law at defiance to submit quietly to it on an occasion when so wide a field was opened to their ambition; and though a regency was at once appointed to govern in the name of the young queen, the country was soon distracted by the intrigues and conspiracies of competitors for the crown, who hoped to make might prevail against right. Unfortunately for Scotland, Edward I. of England, to whom the states of the realm appealed, begging him to act as peace-maker between the contending factions, and to whom, as her near relative, the young queen's father also looked for the protection of her rights, nourished plans inimical to the independence of Scotland, and by his interference matters were brought to a more dangerous state. The first proposal made by Edward was that the Maid of Norway, as the absent queen was generally called, should be affianced to his son, and that she should be brought over from Norway to receive her education at his court. As this scheme of a matrimonial alliance between the queen of the one country and the heir to the other promised as many advantages to Scotland as to England, it was readily agreed to, and the unconscious object of so many hopes

and so many fears accordingly quitted the land of her birth, and set sail for Scotland. In that country all eyes were anxiously looking out for her arrival, when accounts were received that the delicate child, unable to bear the hardships of so rough a voyage, had sickened and died at Orkney, where she had put to land (1290.)

To all those who sincerely loved their country the death of the young princess was a grievous blow, for they felt that a fiercer struggle than any which the country had as yet sustained was about to commence; but to the hearts and councils of the ambitious men who hoped to win the throne thus become vacant, it brought joy and new energies. The crown had in 1284 been solemnly settled on the lineal descendants of Alexander III., but no provision had been made in case these should fail; and this having now occurred, no less than twelve claimants stood forward among the nobility of Scotland, and among foreign princes connected with the royal family. The king of England, whose ambitious views upon Scotland had been strengthened, not weakened, by the death of the Maid of Norway, availed himself of the discord which these contending claims introduced in the

Scottish councils, to promote his own schemes; and having assembled his chief barons, he made them acquainted with his intention to bring the kingdom of Scotland under his dominion in the same manner as he had subjugated the principality of Wales. For this purpose he next proceeded to Norham, where he had previously ordered his chief barons to meet him with their military retainers; and he then offered his services to the Scots to settle the disputes concerning the succession to the crown, a party among them having indeed invited him so to do. The Scots consented; and the twelve competitors or their representatives, together with the leading members of the clergy, and the nobility of the country, repaired in consequence to Norham, to meet the royal arbitrator. Great was their dismay when, having met in public assembly, Edward informed them that it was in the character of Lord Paramount of Scotland that he had come thither to do justice to all parties, and that previous to any other proceedings they must recognise his right to this title. In vain the Scots declared their ignorance of the existence of any such right, and their incompetence to deal with any such question, as long

as their country was without a king. "By holy Edward! whose crown I wear," cried the king of England, "I will have my rights recognised, or die in the vindication of them!" But he well knew all the while that he had no other right than that of his strong arm, and the opportunity afforded him by the fatal dissensions among the Scots themselves. The truly patriotic among the Scottish nobles and prelates, who would fain have resisted him, were well aware that Edward's army would be assembled in a few days, and that they had none to oppose to it: another party had been bribed by the king of England into slavish submission to his will; and each of the twelve competitors hoped that by complying with the wishes of Scotland's powerful neighbour he would gain possession of the crown. After some delay and deliberation Edward was therefore recognised by the Scottish estates as Lord Paramount, or feudal superior of Scotland; the royal lands and castles were delivered into his hands; and he made a progress through the country to receive the homage due to him under his new title. He next proceeded to pass judgment on the subject of the succession. The claims of nine of the competitors having been

found invalid, there remained but three on the list—namely, John de Hastings, Robert de Bruce, and John de Baliol; all three descended from daughters of David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother of William the Lion, and all three of Norman blood, and holding large possessions in England and France as well as Scotland. To John de Baliol, as the descendant of the eldest daughter, the crown was finally awarded by the crafty Edward, more perhaps on account of the weakness and instability of this claimant's character than because of the strength of his claims.

One great step had been gained by Edward, but his ambition was not yet satisfied, for he looked forward to nothing less than placing the crown of Scotland on his own head. Every opportunity offered by his position of Lord Paramount of heaping indignities on Baliol was therefore seized by him with avidity, and the king of Scotland soon found that the crown which he had obtained by means of a base concession had only transformed him from a powerful noble into the slave of an imperious and exacting master. His subjects feeling this as well, whenever they were discontented with the

royal decisions, appealed against these to the Lord Paramount, and Baliol was obliged to appear in the courts of England to answer for his acts as king of Scotland. At length the humiliations became too great to be borne; and availing themselves of a war in which Edward I. was engaged with France, a party among the Scottish nobles determined to rebel; but to strengthen their own hands they took measures which only added to the dissensions that were already distracting the unhappy country. Many English barons at that time possessed estates in Scotland, and many Scottish nobles held lands in England. In order to obviate the difficulties arising out of the divided allegiance caused by this state of things, the faction now in power banished all the English barons from Scotland, and declared their lands in that country forfeited, while at the same time they seized the lands belonging to the Scottish nobles who would not renounce their allegiance to the English crown, and thus of course converted these into bitter enemies. Distrusting the mean spirit of their king, they next appointed twelve of their own number guardians of the kingdom; shut up Baliol in a mountain fortress; and then in his

name drew up a document, in which he formally renounced his allegiance to the king of England. This was exactly what Edward wished: there was strife and mutual hatred among the Scottish nobles, and many of them were, from interested motives, more devoted to him than to their own country, and under such circumstances the conquest of Scotland, for which he had now a decent pretext, became comparatively easy. An army of invasion was speedily assembled; the town of Berwick, which then belonged to Scotland, and which was one of the richest and most populous cities in the kingdom, was taken by assault by Edward himself, and 17,000 persons were put to the sword without distinction of rank, sex, or age. To avenge this ruthless deed a Scottish army made an incursion into England, and visited on the innocent inhabitants of the northern borders the sins of the English soldiery. Flaming towns, villages, and monasteries marked the passage of the Scots; but they proceeded without a plan; and though they spread havoc around them, they did nothing for the deliverance of their country, while Edward, carrying out his well-matured projects, continued his onward march. The castle of Dunbar, one of

the strongest and most important in Scotland, was at that time commanded by the Countess of Dunbar, her husband, the earl, being on service in Edward's army. The countess, whose love of her country and hatred of the English was stronger than her affection and her obedience to her lord, delivered over the castle into the hands of the Scots, who immediately threw a strong garrison into it. Edward being informed of this loss, determined at all hazards to regain possession of the important fortress, and for this purpose despatched an army of 10,000 foot-soldiers and 1000 horse against it. The Scots, however, equally anxious to retain possession of this stronghold, marched their whole army, consisting of 40,000 foot and 1500 horse, to the rescue, and took up a strong position on the heights commanding Dunbar. The English, undaunted by this superior force, advanced steadily to the attack (28th April 1296); and the Scots, mistaking for flight a necessary breaking up of the line of march of the English army while defiling through a narrow valley, with an impetuosity and precipitation which throughout their history characterises them in battle, rushed down *pêle-mêle* upon an enemy whom they

considered already half vanquished. When too late they discovered their error, and their ranks being now broken and disordered, they were, after a short resistance, completely routed by the English, who had formed in compact order. Scotland now lay open to the mercy of Edward of England, who, following up the advantages thus gained, was soon master of the whole country. The weak and unhappy Baliol hastened to tender anew his submission, and to sue for peace, but nothing less than the total surrender of himself and his kingdom would satisfy Edward. Incapable of resistance, the king of Scotland was obliged to submit to the last humiliation which could be inflicted on him. Being brought before King Edward in the churchyard of Strickathro, in the Mearns, he was, in presence of the barons of England, stripped piecemeal of his royal robes, his sceptre, and his crown, and then made to do penance with a white rod in his hand. Three days after this he publicly and solemnly resigned his kingdom into the hands of Edward, to whom also he delivered up his son as a hostage for his future good behaviour, and he was then sent to London, along with the youth, to be retained a prisoner in the Tower.

Chapter III.—William Wallace—Robert Bruce.

Not content with having actually deprived the country of its independence, Edward I. further endeavoured to obliterate from the memory of the people the very remembrance of this independence, by destroying as many of their records and relics of the past as he could lay hands on. The ancient and revered coronation-stone of Scone was removed, together with the crown and sceptre of Scotland, to Westminster Abbey in London; and in his progress through the country the king of England industriously sought out and destroyed the ancient monuments, charters, and other historical records of the kingdom. But though a great many Scots of all ranks, intimidated by his power and by the severity with which he punished all resistance, hastened to recognise him as their sovereign, there remained in the hearts of the Scottish people a determined hatred against the English, and a

fixed resolve to throw off the yoke as soon as an opportunity occurred. It was not, however, among the Norman nobles of Scotland that this spirit was cherished, but by those classes of the people whose nationality was purely Scottish, and who having nothing in common with their southern neighbours, felt towards their conquerors as the Saxon population of England, at the time of the Norman Conquest, felt towards their subjugators. When every other kind of resistance had ceased, the same desultory and predatory system of warfare was also kept up by the Scottish people against the English as the Saxons for a time carried on against their invaders. Numerous bands of armed men, whose numbers daily increased, infested the highways; attacked the English wherever they met with them; took many prisoners, and put many to death; laid waste their lands; and at length were even bold enough to besiege the castles held by English garrisons. Edward, alarmed by this state of things, wrote to his governors in Scotland to spare no money or exertions to put down these violent proceedings; but though his commands were carried out with the utmost vigour,

it was of no avail; for from the ranks of the inferior nobility of Scotland, who had remained faithful to the independence of their country, there now arose a leader, whose superior strength and bravery, and whose enthusiasm in the national cause, inspired his followers with an ardour which for a time carried everything before it.

This leader was William Wallace, son of Sir Malcolm Wallace of Ellerslie in Renfrewshire—a young man of violent passions and hasty temperament, but of those physical qualities which generally inspire the vulgar with respect and reverence, for William was of giantlike stature and uncommon bodily strength and agility. From his earliest youth a strong hatred of the English had been instilled into his mind by an uncle, a monk, who bitterly deplored the corruption which English intrigues had spread throughout Scotland, and the calamities this had brought upon the country. When Wallace grew to manhood this feeling was strengthened by his own experience; and being one day insulted by some English officers in the town of Lanark, his feelings broke all bounds, and a bloody scuffle ensued. William's life,

which was in danger from his adversaries, was saved by a young woman whom he loved, and who having first concealed him in her house, afterwards helped him to escape into the neighbouring woods. On the morrow the English sheriff presented himself at the young woman's house, to call the offender to account for the breach of the peace; and finding the culprit flown, he attacked the house, and in a spirit of wanton and cruel revenge put Wallace's beloved to death. The sheriff paid for this base act with his life, for William returned from his hiding-place and slew him, and then flying again to the natural fastnesses of his country for safety, he there associated himself with the many other brave men whom the oppressions of the English had driven to the wild and irregular life of outlaws. Among these William Wallace's personal qualities soon made him a favourite and successful leader, while the discipline and obedience which he introduced among them gave to these irregular bands the appearance of a formidable army, and daily drew new recruits to him. Being eventually joined even by some of the most powerful Scottish nobles, Wallace now openly and boldly

assumed the offensive; ravaged the country; assaulted and took the castles held by the English or their adherents; committed great slaughter among their people; and by many a deed of unnecessary cruelty, proved that though an unswerving patriot, in moral feeling he was not in advance of the times in which he lived.

The news of the formidable character which the Scottish rebellion had assumed reached Edward I. on the eve of his departure for Flanders, and he commanded the Earl of Surrey to proceed with an English army to the north to put down the insurrection. This army was, however, so totally routed by the Scots, in a battle fought on the banks of the Forth, that Wallace became in a measure master in Scotland, and was enabled to carry the war into the enemy's country, where he took a terrible revenge for the wrongs the English had inflicted upon his. On his return from this expedition the Scottish hero, who was idolised by the people, though looked upon with jealous eyes by the great barons, was elected guardian of Scotland, in the name of King John Baliol, in an assembly held at the Forest Kirk in the county of Selkirk, where (it was fondly believed

by the common people) St Andrew, the patron saint of Scotland, appeared and presented to her deliverer a bloodstained sword, with which he was to follow up his victories over the English. Strengthened by his new title, Wallace then proceeded to reward his friends and to punish his enemies, and to take effectual measures for maintaining the independence of the country; while in all other matters of government he acted with so much firmness, that, though regarding him with envy and hatred, the powerful barons were obliged to submit to his decrees. They determined, however, whenever an opportunity offered, to be avenged on the obscure individual who had managed to raise himself above them; and when, therefore, Edward, returning from Flanders, marched a strong army into Scotland, they betrayed to the English the admirable plan which Wallace had laid down for the defence of the country; and after an obstinate battle, fought near Falkirk on the 22d July 1298, Edward's power was once again, for a short time, supreme in Scotland.

Soon after the defeat of Falkirk Wallace was threatened with impeachment by the two

powerful families of the Bruces and the Comyns, who, though constantly at feud with each other, on this occasion forgot their animosities to unite against the deliverer of their country. The hero whom the dangers of Scotland had brought forth from the obscurity of private life to hold so prominent a position in the history of the country, then voluntarily resigned his office of guardian, continuing, however, to the last to refuse submission to Edward. During seven years the Scottish patriot, resuming his original mode of desultory warfare, and concealing himself as formerly in the woods and among the hills, eluded the vigilance of the enemies whom the king had bribed to betray him into his hands. But in 1305 a man who attended him as servant revealed his place of concealment to Sir John Monteith, a Scottish baron of high rank, who then invaded his house by night, seized him while in bed, and delivered him over to the revenge of the king of England. That Wallace would find mercy at the hands of the crafty and ambitious monarch whose darling projects he had so successfully foiled could not be expected, but even the feelings of those rude times were outraged by the refine-

ment of cruelty with which he was treated. Having been conveyed to London, he was there tried and condemned for treason, and dragged at the tails of horses to the place of execution, where he was put to death under the most atrocious tortures. His head and limbs were then severed from the body, and, after the barbarous fashion of the times, exposed to view in various towns of England and Scotland.

However bitter such a sight may have been to the hearts of the Scottish people, their spirit was not broken by it. Though the country was now governed by an English guardian—though the great majority of the nobles had again sworn fealty to the king of England—though the fortresses of the land were again in the hands of his lieutenants—yet in a few brief months the Scots rose up again with a national king at their head, to shake off the yoke of the foreigner, and the glorious achievement was ultimately accomplished, and Scotland never again subjected to foreign dominion.

The champion who next adopted the cause of Scottish independence belonged to the class of those nobles who had so frequently before betrayed that cause; and though more for-

tunate than William Wallace, his motives were less pure; for the patriotism of the latter was unmixed with any desire for personal aggrandisement, while Robert Bruce became the deliverer of his country only because he aspired to wear its crown. When Edward I. in 1292 awarded the crown of Scotland to John Baliol, Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, his rival, refused to do homage to Baliol; and during all the struggles between the Scotch and the English up to the death of Wallace, this Earl of Carrick, his son, and his grandson, were most frequently found in the camp of the English. At the period of Wallace's death, Robert Bruce, the grandson, was in high favour with Edward; but seeing the way to the throne opened to him by the misfortunes of the rival family of the Comyns, whose claims were preferable to his, but who, having always remained faithful to the national cause, had been persecuted and wronged by Edward, the young Earl of Carrick began to plot against the sovereign whose favour he had until then so sedulously courted. To attain his purpose he entered into secret leagues with as many of the powerful Scottish nobles as he found willing to promote his objects; but the head

of the Comyns, having gained possession of his secret, betrayed his designs to Edward while Bruce was on a visit at his court. The Earl of Carrick, having been warned in time of the treachery, fled to Scotland before the king could take any measures against him. On the frontiers he met a messenger hurrying to England whose manner excited his suspicion, and who, on being examined, proved to be an emissary of Comyn's despatched with further information to Edward. Shortly after, Bruce meeting Comyn, openly upbraided him with his treachery. Comyn denied the aspersion in gross terms, and Bruce, losing all command of himself, drew out his dagger and stabbed his adversary to the heart, though they were at the time within the sanctuary of a monastery. This deed determined the fate of Scotland. Finding that his schemes had been divulged to Edward, and having moreover, by the murder of the head of an ancient and powerful family within one of the sanctuaries of the church, armed against himself not only the numerous vassals and friends of his victim, but the vengeance of a church which never left unpunished an offence against its dignity, Bruce felt that he had only

the choice between becoming an excommunicated fugitive and outlaw, or throwing off the mask at once, and standing forward openly as a claimant to the crown. Fortunately for him, he succeeded in gaining the friendship of the bishop of St Andrews, and the good offices of this prelate turned away from him the wrath of the church, and even secured for him the sympathies of the Scottish clergy. Strong in this support, and heedless of the small number of armed adherents who had as yet joined his cause, Robert determined to be crowned at once, and for this purpose left his castle of Lochmaben and set out for Glasgow. On the road he met a young knight, well armed and mounted on a splendid charger, who, on beholding Scotland's future king, threw himself from his horse, and kneeling before Bruce, did homage to him on the spot as to his rightful sovereign. This young enthusiast was Sir James Douglas (son of William, fourth Lord Douglas, the first Scottish nobleman who joined Wallace); and thus commenced a friendship which did not end even with Robert Bruce's life.

So rapid and unexpected had Bruce's movements been, that when the day of his coronation

arrived all the necessary paraphernalia for the ceremony were wanting; for Edward I. had carried off the Scottish regalia to England, and no time had been given to provide others. However, the bishop of Glasgow provided from his own wardrobe a suitable dress for the king, and a slight coronet of gold was made to take the place of the ancient crown of Scotland. The ceremony was performed (1308) as usual in the abbey church of Scone, though Fergus's sacred stone was no longer there for the sovereign to ascend; but a banner, with the arms of Scotland floated above the royal seat, and beneath it Robert I. received the homage of the knights and barons present. But one personage was wanting to complete the ceremony according to the ancient usage of Scotland. From the days of Malcolm Canmore the Earls of Fife had enjoyed the hereditary privilege of placing the crown upon the head of the king at the ceremony of the coronation, and the actual Earl of Fife was of the English party, and thus one of Bruce's foes. However, before the king and his friends could find time to express their fears that on account of his absence the ceremony might be considered incomplete and invalid, Isabella, Countess of

Buchan, sister of the Earl of Fife, an enthusiastic and high-spirited woman, appeared in the assembly, and claimed the privilege of crowning the king in the absence of her brother. The countess's husband, like her brother, belonged to the English party: she had therefore been obliged to depart from her lord in secret; and dearly did she pay for her romantic enthusiasm when Edward was informed of the service she had vouchsafed to his rival. In one of the towers of the castle of Berwick was constructed an open cage, in which the unhappy lady was confined and exposed to the gaze of the passers-by, though forbidden to hold intercourse with any one except the woman who brought her meals. From this dreadful position she was, after the lapse of seven years, released, but only to be immured in a convent.

Immediately after his coronation Bruce made a tour through Scotland, endeavouring to gain new adherents among his countrymen, seizing the castles and towns garrisoned by the English, and creating so great a consternation among the latter by the rapidity of his movements and the decision of his acts, that many of them fled precipitately from the country. But among the

Scottish nobles the king was less successful, for the followers and friends of the Comyns were numerous, and these all considered themselves at deadly feud with the murderer of their chief and ally; while many other of the Scottish chieftains, subdued by the long years of suffering and discord they had witnessed, were unwilling to join in any new revolt against the king of England. In the meanwhile Edward I., who, though old and infirm, still retained the full vigour of his mind, prepared to take signal revenge on the traitor; and exacted a solemn promise from his son, that should he die before this was perpetrated, his body should not be interred, but be borne in front of the English army, until condign punishment had been inflicted on Bruce and on the Scots. Bruce was but badly prepared to resist an adversary animated by such a spirit, and backed by a power so great as that of the king of England. At first, indeed, he was so unfortunate in his various encounters with the English and their Scottish adherents, that he was obliged to fly to the Highlands, where for some time he led the same wild and adventurous life to which Wallace had submitted for years. A price was set upon his

head; and he and his followers, obliged to avoid the habitations of men, and to sustain life by the chase, were worn out with fatigue, while their garments were tattered and torn, and hung around them in miserable shreds. At length they were so reduced, that in spite of the dangers that threatened them, they returned to the Lowlands, and at Aberdeen Bruce was joined by his queen and the wives of several of his faithful companions. Soon, however, the approach of the English again drove the little band into Breadalbane, where new trials awaited them—their sufferings being this time enhanced by being shared with the devoted women who insisted upon accompanying their husbands. In the true spirit of chivalry the latter exerted themselves to the utmost to mitigate the hardships to which their fair partners were thus subjected. The deer of the forest were made to furnish warm skins for the bedding of the ladies and food for the whole party; and in the quiet hours of rest the king and Sir James Douglas, both among the most accomplished knights of the times, diverted the minds of their listeners from the real dangers which beset their own path, by romantic tales of the adventures and sufferings

of fictitious heroes. The dangers against which they had to contend were not only those of hunger and fatigue, and the inclemency of the weather, for their steps were constantly tracked by enemies, with whom they fought bloody skirmishes, and frequently it was the king's extraordinary bravery and skill in arms which alone saved the whole band from destruction. At length it was resolved that the queen and the other ladies should proceed under an escort to a strong castle in Mar, while the king and Sir James Douglas, and the rest of his adherents, should endeavour to make their way to the coast, and thence to Ireland. This Bruce accomplished in spite of innumerable difficulties and dangers; and, with three hundred of his followers, he spent the winter in the little island of Rachrin, on the north coast of Ireland. The queen and her daughter, less fortunate, were betrayed into the hands of the king of England, and were during eight years kept in close confinement in England.

In the spring of 1307 Bruce returned to Scotland, and recommenced his efforts in a series of skirmishes and surprises, which were so successful that Edward—who, on account of his infir-

mities, had remained at Carlisle, leaving the task of subduing Scotland to his son—now determined to march in person against the intrepid hero, and swore that he would reduce the country or perish in the attempt. But before he reached the frontiers of the kingdom to gain dominion over which he had expended so much blood and so much money, death stayed the progress of the conqueror. His son, who succeeded to the throne of England under the title of Edward II., possessing neither his father's ambition nor his talents, then withdrew from Scotland without striking another blow, and left to his lieutenants there the labour of defending against Bruce the castles and territories held by them. A heavy task King Robert rendered it to them; yet so strong were the English, and so numerous the Scottish foes also, against whom he had to contend, that years passed before the king of Scotland was king in anything but name; for though successful at times, at others he was again a fugitive, seeking safety among the hills and morasses of the country, tracked by bloodhounds, and pursued by enemies panting for revenge: the Scottish chieftains who considered themselves at deadly feud

with him, being on these occasions his most dangerous adversaries. One by one, however, by stratagem or by force of arms, the important fortresses in the kingdom passed into his hands; and in 1313 Stirling alone held out against him. This castle was besieged by Sir Edward Bruce, King Robert's brother; and the English governor, having reason to fear that his provisions would fail, agreed to surrender by the ensuing midsummer, if not rescued before that time by an English army. This agreement staked the fate of Scotland on a single battle; and though Bruce was fully alive to the impolicy of so doing, he was too chivalrous to break the promise given by his brother, and he resolved at all hazards to meet the English.

Edward II., though weak and indolent to a deplorable degree, was not so devoid of the spirit of chivalry, or so utterly disregardful of his own interests, as to fail to make an effort to succour the distressed fortress, and to retain the kingdom which was escaping from his power. Determined to strike a decisive blow, he marched into Scotland at the head of an army of no less than 100,000 men, to which Bruce had no more than 40,000 to oppose. But the spirit which

united these 40,000 men, gathered together from the different parts of Scotland, and belonging to populations of various origin, and who had until then stood hostilely opposed to each other, proved that during the long years of struggle against foreign aggressors, the heterogeneous elements of Scottish society had become blended, and that the inhabitants of Scotland were now indeed knit together as one people. On the 24th of June the two armies closed in battle. They had been in view of each other during the two preceding days, and detachments had entered into engagements that terminated in favour of the Scots. In spite of their inferior numbers, the latter were therefore full of hope; but feeling how much was at stake, their whole army drawn up in order of battle, before commencing hostilities, heard mass, and then kneeling down, offered up a prayer to the Lord of Hosts. The king of England, perceiving this movement, cried out: "See, they kneel—they ask for mercy!"

"They do, my liege," replied a Scottish nobleman in Edward's service, who well knew the temper of his countrymen—"they do, but it is from God, not from us. Trust me,

yon men will win this day or die upon the field."

And so it proved. Before night the overwhelming force of the English was flying before the 40,000 Scots, who in pursuing made terrible havoc among their enemies. Thirty thousand men of the English army were left dead upon the field, and among these 200 knights and 700 squires; the banks of the little rivulet (Bannockburn) which has given its name to this battle, and which the English had to cross in their flight, were heaped up with the slain, and multitudes were drowned while attempting to cross the Forth; while other fugitives, who spread themselves over the country, were mercilessly cut down by the peasantry. The king of England, who fled followed by 500 men only, first sought refuge in Dunbar Castle, and thence reached England in a little fishing-boat; while Robert Bruce, now firmly established on the throne of his country, divided among his faithful Scots the rich spoils the English had left behind them.

Edward II., covered with disgrace by the defeat of Bannockburn, in vain appealed to his discontented barons to retrieve the honour of the English arms. Far from complying, they

availed themselves of his discomfiture to increase their own power, and to reduce that of the king, and no new expedition was at the time undertaken against Scotland. To the close of his reign, however, Robert Bruce was at enmity with England, and in numerous inroads upon the Borders he revenged upon that portion of the empire all the ills which the English kings had inflicted on the Scots. At length, in 1327, after Edward II. had been deposed, and his son Edward III., a minor, had followed him on the throne, England was reduced to negotiate for peace. A treaty was then concluded, in which the rights of Bruce and the independence of Scotland were recognised; and to insure the continuance of friendly relations between the two countries, David, son and heir of the king of the Scots, was affianced to the sister of the young king of England. Only two years Robert Bruce survived this event; but from the period of the victory of Bannockburn to that of his death, he had enjoyed sufficient authority to prove himself as able a civil administrator as he was a skilful general and a valiant warrior, and his death was deeply regretted by his people, among whom his memory was cherished for

centuries with a fondness proportionate to the love and pride with which the Scots clung to their independence. The vigour with which Bruce upheld the power of the crown, and endeavoured to limit that of the nobles, however, always maintained in this class a degree of hostility towards him, which in 1320 even originated a conspiracy against his life; but the plot was betrayed by the Countess of Strathearn, who was privy to it, and happily defeated.

At the period when he was most hardly beset by his enemies, Bruce had made a vow, that if ever he was enabled to govern his kingdom in peace and quiet, he would join the Crusaders in the Holy Land, to atone for Comyn's murder. This vow he had not been able to fulfil; but on his deathbed he requested Sir James Douglas, his faithful companion through all the vicissitudes of his life, to convey his heart to Jerusalem in lieu of himself, "to acquit," as he expressed it, "his debt to his Saviour." The devoted friend promised, but failed to perform, the service. Sir James indeed set out with the sacred relic; but hearing that the king of Spain was carrying on a war against the Sara-

cens in that country, his chivalrous spirit led him first to seek that field for the display of his prowess. In an action on the borders of Andalusia, the Scottish cavalier was so completely surrounded by the Saracens, that no alternative was left to him but to be taken prisoner, or to die fighting. This he resolved to do; and taking from his bosom the casket containing the heart of Bruce, he flung it before him, exclaiming: "Now, pass onward as thou wert wont, and Douglas will follow thee or die!" A few moments afterwards the heroic warrior fell overpowered by the enemy; but his remains, together with the casket with his friend's heart, were found and conveyed back to Scotland.

Chapter IV.—The First Royal Stuarts and the Scottish Nobles.

David II., a boy of four years of age, succeeded his father on the throne, and the government was intrusted to Randolph, Earl of Moray, his

cousin, who seems to have been as eminent as a statesman as he was as a warrior. During his administration the laws were enforced, and the police of the kingdom, as regards the people in general, was admirably maintained. But on the throne of England again sat a king of ambition as great, and of talents even greater than Edward I.; and in that quarter new troubles were preparing for Scotland, while within the kingdom also many elements of civil discord remained.

Nourishing the same designs upon the independence of Scotland as his father and his grandfather before him, and intending, moreover, to assert a claim to the kingdom of France, which rendered it necessary for him to keep the Scots employed at home, lest they might attack his kingdom in his absence, or lend their aid to his adversaries, Edward III. encouraged the projects of Edward Baliol, son of the deposed John, to endeavour to recover the crown which his father had lost. In Scotland Baliol was supported by several discontented barons, and more particularly by the Comyn faction, who still persisted in their hostility to the Bruce family, and who considered themselves in a manner bound to uphold the claims of Baliol, as

his mother was sister-in-law to the Comyn whom Robert Bruce had murdered. With the aid of these parties, and of the king of England, Baliol succeeded in 1332 in making himself for a few brief months king of Scotland; for, unhappily for that country, the Earl of Moray died suddenly in the hour of its greatest danger, and the Earl of Mar, who succeeded him as regent, was in every way unsuited for the arduous task which devolved upon him. In a battle fought near Dupplin, in which Mar himself fell, the Scottish army, consisting of 30,000 men, was completely overwhelmed by Baliol, whose force did not amount to more than 3000; and such was the effect of this unfortunate affair, that it was considered necessary for the safety of David Bruce, now eight years of age, to send him to France, while his rival was crowned at Scone by the adverse party. Edward Baliol proved his gratitude to the king of England by consenting to acknowledge the supremacy of the English crown; and Edward III. advanced towards the Borders once more to put forward the claims of Lord Paramount, and as such to interfere in the internal affairs of Scotland. But many friends still remained to the Bruce dynasty. Sir

Andrew Moray, Earl of Bothwell, the new regent; the Earl of Moray, son of Randolph; and Archibald Douglas, brother of the "Good Sir James," Robert Bruce's faithful companion-in-arms—exerted themselves so valiantly that after the lapse of three months Edward Baliol was expelled the country; but the war for the subjugation of Scotland was continued by Edward III., with whose armies Baliol returned repeatedly to the charge.

The struggle continued until 1341 with very few intermissions; and though negotiations for peace were repeatedly commenced, they led to no results. In the meanwhile the protracted evils of war had reduced Scotland to a dreadful state of desolation. A grievous famine, caused by the cessation of all regular agricultural labours, added its ravages to those of the sword, and many parts of the country were utterly depopulated, numbers of the inhabitants having fallen in battle, others having sought quiet and safety in Flanders, and the poorer classes of people having been driven into the woods, there to subsist upon the raw acorns with which previously they used to feed their swine. It is even said that some of these unhappy creatures

were so pressed by hunger as to prey upon each other like savage cannibals; and the tracts of country which man had abandoned were again taken possession of by the wild animals of the forest. At length in 1341, Robert the hereditary High Steward of Scotland (a son of Marjory, daughter of Robert Bruce, and of Walter the High Steward of Scotland), who had succeeded to the regency, expelled the English armies from the greater part of the country, and seizing a short interval of peace that ensued, in some measure restored order and justice, and invited the young king, who was still in France, to return to his dominions. The return of David II., now in his eighteenth year, was hailed with delight by his people; but it soon became evident that he was deficient in every quality most required in a Scottish king at that period. His youth and inexperience naturally precluded the prudence and firmness necessary to hold in check the fierce and independent barons who, during the absence of the sovereign, had become accustomed to consider their own power as supreme; but to this was added a want of true love for his country, to which he had become a stranger; ignorance of the character

and peculiar circumstances of his people; together with an inordinate love of pleasure, violent and vindictive passions, and a reckless selfishness, which made him, particularly at a later period of his reign, disregard his most sacred duties as a sovereign. In personal valour, however, David resembled his father, and immediately on his return he put himself at the head of the patriot nobles who were still contending against Edward III.; but neither in its external nor internal relations was the country benefited by his presence. In 1346 the king, who was conducting an expedition into England, was wounded in a battle fought near Durham, and taken prisoner. The direction of affairs in Scotland now again devolved on the Steward, who, being in military matters ably seconded by William Lord Douglas, was enabled to hold in check the power of the king of England, who, when David was taken captive, already flattered himself that he was master of the country. During eleven years David II. remained in captivity. At the end of that period he was ransomed, and Edward III. changed his policy towards Scotland. Flattery, cajolery, and fair promises took the place of hostile inroads; and

though the Scottish people in general remained faithful to their independence, a party among the nobles, with the sovereign at their head, were induced by these intrigues to entertain the project of settling the succession to the throne on Lionel, third son of Edward III. The proposal was made by David in open parliament in 1363, but was received by a burst of such deep and undissembled indignation, that, filled with anger and disappointment, he was obliged to withdraw it again. But from that period until his death, which took place in 1371, the king of Scotland proved himself more desirous of promoting the ambitious views of the king of England than of maintaining that independence for which his father had struggled so heroically and so victoriously.

The degenerate son of Robert Bruce having died without children, he was followed on the throne by his cousin Robert, the Steward of Scotland, the first sovereign of the race who, adopting as patronymic the name of the office so long hereditary in their family, became so famous in Scottish history. Robert II. was fifty-six years of age at his accession. The prime strength of his body and vigour of his mind

had been spent in the struggles sustained by him during his long regency, and, in consequence, as a sovereign he proved himself too peace-loving for his turbulent barons, though the affability and gentle dignity of his manners, and his endeavours to raise the internal condition of the country, endeared him to the other classes of his subjects. During the early part of this king's reign Scotland, though by no means in a prosperous condition, nevertheless enjoyed comparative tranquillity, owing to the misfortunes which, towards the close of his life, befell Edward III. as a monarch and a father. This great king died in 1377; and his grandson and successor, Richard II., being a minor, the Scottish nobles, little mindful of the wishes of their sovereign, availed themselves of the consequent weakness of the English government to make frequent attacks upon England. On these occasions their forces were strengthened by French auxiliaries—an alliance having been formed with that nation, which was anxious, by weakening the power of England, to avert a renewal of such humiliations as the arms of Edward III. had brought upon France. In the meanwhile the age and indolence of Robert Stuart having increased to a

degree that rendered him unfit to govern the country, and his eldest son being likewise, by mental and bodily infirmities, incapacitated for so arduous an undertaking, the king's second son, the Earl of Fife, a man of an ambitious, selfish, and intriguing character, was in 1389 nominated governor of the country, while the Earl of Buchan, Robert's youngest son, whose savage and sanguinary character is well described in the appellation of the "Wolf of Badenoch," commonly given to him, was intrusted with the management of affairs in the northern parts of the country.

Little was changed in this state of things when the first royal Stuart died in 1390, and was succeeded by his eldest son, the gentle and amiable, but weak-minded Robert III. From foreign invasions Scotland indeed suffered but little during this reign, but within, the state of the kingdom was not therefore more peaceful, for the ambition, cupidity, and licentiousness of the nobles broke through all bounds, and made the country the theatre of the most barbarous scenes. In all countries the feudal system had led to the same results. The kings, though apparently invested with a majesty and authority raising them high above even the proudest

of their vassals, in reality owed it to circumstances purely fortuitous if in power they exceeded these. The royal demesnes (that is, the lands which the king retained in his own hands, distinct from those over which he nominally held sovereignty, but which were bestowed as fiefs on the barons or feudatories) furnished the chief means for the subsistence of the court, and for defraying the ordinary expenses of government, the only taxes imposed by the feudal laws on the king's vassals being three payments: one to be made when the sovereign's eldest son was to be knighted; another when his eldest daughter was to be married; and a third when the king, having been made prisoner by a foreign power, was to be ransomed. Besides this, the king enjoyed the profits of all lands, the hereditary possessors of which were under age; he received a certain fine or payment on the marriage of every female; and on some extraordinary occasions the vassals granted to their liege lord a pecuniary aid, which was however considered a free gift, not a legal impost, and was in consequence called a "benevolence." The amount of the king's revenues thus depended in a great measure upon casual-

ties and the good-will of his subjects, while the military forces which he commanded consisted not of regular troops in his pay and entirely dependent upon him, as in the present day, but of those very vassals against whom, in case of internal disorders, the force was to be employed—for military service was the one great duty which the feudal inferior owed to his superior. For foreign conquest the king might be strong—for the passion for war being the ruling passion of the times, the nobles seldom refused to perform their due services on such occasions—but as regards the maintenance of the royal authority at home the result was very different. Each baron holding within his fief the same position as the sovereign held in the kingdom, could command the services of his own immediate vassals even for resistance to the crown, and could league with his peers for the same purpose; and the sovereign, ruler in name, on such occasions was reduced to the position of a mere party leader, he being obliged to avail himself of the mutual enmities of the barons to coerce one party by means of another. Not only titles and lands had become hereditary, but even the great offices of the crown, such as those of the

high steward, the high constable, the high justiciary, &c. were transmitted from father to son, and were not bestowed, as in justice they ought to have been, upon the most able or most meritorious subjects, or upon the individuals possessing in a supreme degree the confidence of the monarch; and thus it often happened that the offices of highest trust in the kingdom descended to persons at open war with the prince. But if in other countries of Europe the power of the nobles exceeded the bounds compatible with the lawful exercise of the royal authority, in Scotland, owing to a variety of circumstances, this was the case in a far higher degree. One cause of the great power and independence of the Scottish chieftains was the nature of the country, which being mountainous and marshy, and intersected by many rivers, afforded numerous impregnable positions, in which the barons built those strongholds behind the walls of which they defied the menaces of the law. Here they dwelt surrounded by their dependents, each group forming in a measure a separate and independent state in the state—the bonds that always existed between the lord and his vassals being, in

the case of the Scottish nobles, still further strengthened by the prevalent system of clanship. This system probably owed its origin to the fact of the country having at first been occupied by numerous small tribes independent of each other, and each of which, having conquered a certain amount of territory, divided this among its individual members, who, gathered around one chief, and adopting a common appellation, formed a kind of family association in their new locality as they had done before in their migratory state. When the feudal system was regularly established in Scotland, the head of each of these septs or clans most probably became the feudal lord of the territories occupied by the clan; and when surnames and ensigns-armorial were introduced, the whole clan adopted the same patronymic and the same arms as their chief, assuming themselves to be of the same family. This example was in the sequel followed by all vassals who held lands of the same superior; while all the collateral branches of the chieftain's family likewise regarded the head of the eldest branch as their natural chief. To the strong lien of mutual dependence which in

all countries bound together the feudal lord and his inferiors, was thus in Scotland added the still stronger bond of real or supposed blood-relationship; and as the ties of kindred were considered among this people more sacred than any others, each chieftain could reckon upon the unquestioning support of his clan, whether he were engaged in a struggle against the law or the crown, or against any private adversary. The counterpoise which towns, risen to opulence and importance, and whose citizens had an interest in the maintenance of peace and legal order, might have afforded to the power of the nobles, was wanting in Scotland, where the number and size of the cities was inconsiderable, because the almost constant state of anarchy which had prevailed since the death of Alexander III. precluded the possibility of any free development of commerce and peaceful industry. The peculiar position of the kingdom, also, with regard to England, not only directly weakened the power of the kings by the constant encroachments to which they were subjected from their powerful southern neighbours, but also indirectly, by placing them still further at the mercy of those barons whose estates were

situated near the southern limits of the country, and who were therefore, in the absence of any other available force, intrusted with the defence of the frontiers. These barons, called the Wardens of the Marches, were generally invested with great power and dignity; and their followers being inured to war even in a greater degree than the rest of the Scots by the constant Border raids kept up between the two countries, were rendered even less suited for a quiet life of industry, and were almost completely beyond the control of the crown. The Highlands of Scotland, on the other side, were still sunk in a state of intense barbarism, and the people, unaccustomed to any kind of regular government, recognised no other authority than that of the chiefs of their clans, to whom they were blindly devoted. In the Western Isles the state was pretty much the same, except that here the royal authority was not even nominally acknowledged by the chiefs.

The contests for the crown between the Bruces and the Baliols had of course added new elements of discord to the other causes of dissensions between the various powerful but lawless barons; and the long minority

and captivity of David II., and the unwarlike character of the first two monarchs of the Stuart dynasty, having removed even such restraints as a sovereign of unwonted firmness and energy could impose, the law and the royal authority became less respected, and the private feuds more frequent than ever. The most trifling disputes led to hostilities, during which whole tracts of country were laid waste, and towns, churches, and monasteries burned to the ground, and their inhabitants mercilessly butchered.

After the accession of Robert III. the Wolf of Badenoch was the first to light anew the torch of civil war. Having received some slight provocation from the bishop of Moray, this ferocious warrior descended from his mountains, and ravaged the land of his adversary, committed great slaughter among the bishop's dependents, and pillaged and set fire to the noble cathedral of Elgin. Following the example of his father, Duncan Stuart, son of the Wolf of Badenoch, at the head of a troop of Highlanders — or Katherans, as these wild people were called — next attacked the county of Forfar, and committed the most savage and cruel excesses.

The resident nobles rose in their own defence, and sanguinary battles were fought; and soon after it was not only Highlander that was arrayed against Lowlander, but the barons of the low countries were engaged in feuds with one another; while the mountaineers amongst themselves resolved to terminate feuds of long standing by a kind of chivalrous combat, to be sustained by thirty chiefs on the one side against thirty on the other, and which ended in the total extermination of the one party, while eleven only of the other survived. King Robert in his weakness could do nothing to stay these sanguinary proceedings, though equally repugnant to his feelings and disastrous to his realm; and the perfect effeteness to which the royal authority was reduced is most strikingly evinced in the bonds or covenants into which he himself entered with various members of the nobility, and in virtue of which he secured to them pecuniary and other advantages, on condition of their binding themselves to protect him and his eldest son David, Earl of Carrick, whose prospects he felt were endangered by the intriguing and ambitious character of his brother, the Earl of Fife. Such bonds were

frequent among the nobles themselves; but that the king should have been obliged to bribe certain individuals among his subjects to protect him against the machinations of others, proves how slender were the bonds of duty which bound the vassals to their sovereign, and with how little majesty the crown was hedged round.

Though deeply rooted in the prevalent system, the evils which afflicted Scotland at this period were also in some measure owing to the wicked policy of the king's brother, the Earl of Fife, afterwards created Duke of Albany, who, anxious to gain over the nobles to his interests, ventured not to check their excesses, and took no measures to put an end to the dreadful state of confusion that reigned throughout the country. In 1398, however, the Earl of Carrick, who had attained the age of twenty, and had been created Duke of Rothsay, succeeded in inducing the parliament to transfer the office of governor from his uncle to himself. Rothsay was a young man of a vigorous mind and of great personal beauty, excelling in all knightly accomplishments, and possessing a refinement of character and a love of literature not common at that period. But the prince—who had been too

much indulged by his fond and doting father—was on the other hand immoderately addicted to pleasure, and was always surrounded by a troop of dissipated companions, with whom he gave himself up to a wild and unprincipled kind of life. The country was therefore little benefited by the change in its governors, and Rothsay's thoughtless conduct soon plunged it into a still more disastrous state. It having been considered proper that the heir to the throne should marry, two powerful noblemen—the Earls of March and of Douglas—contended for the honour and advantage of being father-in-law to the future sovereign. Both were busy intriguing at court with a view to the accomplishment of their object, when Rothsay—with a recklessness of consequences common to him, and probably tempted by the enormous dowry promised with the bride, for his subsequent conduct proved that he was not attached to the lady—cut the matter short by repairing in secret to the castle of the Earl of Douglas, and concluding the marriage with his daughter in indecent haste. On learning this the Earl of March was highly exasperated, and being one of the wardens of the marches, forthwith pro-

ceeded to England to offer his services to King Henry IV. for the invasion of Scotland. Rothsay, whose inconsiderate rashness thus involved the country in a new war with England, though now married, continued his wild and licentious mode of life; and the Duke of Albany, availing himself of some new excesses committed by him, persuaded the king that it was necessary for the good of the prince that he should be placed under some restraint, and actually obtained from the weak but affectionate father an order to arrest his son. This the bad-hearted uncle and his accomplices did in a surreptitious manner; and the unhappy young prince, instead of being held in honourable confinement, as was meant by the king, was thrown into a dungeon in Falkland Castle, and there left to perish miserably from hunger. After his death his body was conveyed to a monastery, and a report was spread that he had died of a sudden illness; but the people, with whom Rothsay had always been a great favourite on account of his affability, and of the many generous qualities which in a measure redeemed the vices of his character, and who knew the dark and designing character of Albany, suspected the truth,

though the king, utterly blinded by his brother's arts, and completely broken down by the sudden death of his beloved son, reinstated the murderer in the office of governor. After some time the intrigues of Albany to increase his own power and to weaken that of the crown became, however, so evident, that even the king could not help perceiving them; and too feeble to take any strong measures against the schemer, and dreading lest his younger son James—now become heir to the throne—should be made to share his brother's fate, he embarked the young prince, then in his fourteenth year, for France, there to complete his education, and to be kept out of the way of danger. On his passage the boy was intercepted by the English, and sent as a captive to the Tower, though a truce at that time existed between the two nations. As the prince's captivity exactly suited Albany's plans, the English were not called to an account for their treachery, and no serious efforts were made to effect the liberation of the royal youth; but poor King Robert, overwhelmed by this last blow, bowed his head and expired on the 4th April 1406.

Chapter V.—James I.

The death of Robert III. left the Duke of Albany in undivided possession of that power, to obtain which he had shunned no crimes; and he governed Scotland as regent for thirteen years. During this period the power and licentiousness of the nobles increased even beyond what they had been in the time of Robert III., for, anxious to soothe and conciliate them, and to prevent their taking any energetic steps for the deliverance of James—who, though still a captive, had succeeded to the title and rights of king of Scotland—Albany slackened the reins of government, and allowed them in every way to encroach on the prerogatives of the crown, and to exercise with impunity all kinds of wanton oppressions. Even the royal domains were dealt out as bribes to those individuals whose enmity was most to be feared, or whose devotion it seemed most desirable to secure. On Albany's death, in 1419, his son Murdoch suc-

ceeded him in the regency, and nothing was changed in the state of Scotland; for though Murdoch was too imbecile and to unambitious to bribe the nobles as his father had done, his weakness and incapacity left them even greater liberty of action. Happily there were some right-minded men left in the country, who beheld with grief and dismay this state of things, and who, being unopposed, and, it would seem, even assisted by Murdoch, now took serious steps to prevail upon the English to allow the king of Scotland to return to his dominions. Towards the close of the reign of Robert III. there had appeared in Scotland a mysterious personage, supposed to be Richard II. of England, who had been deposed by the Duke of Lancaster, afterwards Henry IV., and as it was generally believed, had subsequently been starved to death in Pomfret Castle at the instigation of the usurper. Whether the Scottish government really believed in the identity of this personage and the deposed king of England has not been clearly proved, but at all events he was treated with the consideration due to a person of high rank; and by letting it be understood that in case Prince James was allowed to return to

Scotland, this claimant to the crown of England would be let loose on that country, Albany had induced Henry IV. to prolong the captivity of the Scottish prince, though there was otherwise no reason for so doing. This threat proving of no avail when Henry V., in 1413, succeeded his father, as this prince was too firmly seated on his throne to fear so feeble a competitor as the pretended Richard, Albany in consequence changed his tactics. He then entered into an alliance with France, which country Henry was endeavouring to subjugate; and by sending auxiliaries thither, and making hostile inroads on the English borders, he succeeded in making it appear necessary that the Scottish king should be retained as a means of checking the proceedings of his subjects. In 1424, however, Albany, the pretended Richard II., and Henry V., being all dead, and a spirit of conciliation being prevalent on both sides, James I. was at length restored to his country and his throne, and the truce between the two kingdoms was only once, and for a very short while, broken during the whole of this reign.

The nineteen years which the Scottish king had spent in English captivity had not dis-

qualified him for the high position he was now called to fill; for to make some amends for the injustice practised in detaining him, Henry IV. of England had bestowed unusual care on his education; and Henry V. had subsequently treated him more like a distinguished friend and visitor than as a prisoner of state. When, therefore, James returned to his country in his thirty-fourth year, he possessed, in addition to the natural advantages of a very handsome person and dignified presence, the polished manners and warlike attainments of the chivalrous court of England, and mental acquirements far exceeding the general average of the age. His natural abilities being of a very high order, he had not only become a proficient in literature, music, and other elegant attainments, but he had also applied himself to the study of the arts of civil government, for which he had excellent opportunities, England being at that time far in advance of Scotland in every branch of civilisation; and he returned to his own kingdom with his mind intent upon projects for raising it to the same height as its southern neighbour. The king, as well as his young English bride—the beautiful and accomplished daughter of the

Earl of Somerset, whose heart he had won during his captivity—were received with rapturous delight by the Scottish people; but though James seemed to respond to their joy, heavy cares were already weighing on his mind. Immediately on entering Scotland, he had become aware that the country was little better than a wide den of robbers, as an ancient historian has forcibly expressed it, and he had formed a mighty resolve to humble in the dust the pride of the nobles, whose contempt of the laws had created this fearful state of anarchy. "Let God but grant me life, and there shall not be a spot in my dominions where the key shall not keep the castle, and the furze-bush the cow, though I myself should lead the life of a dog to accomplish it!" Such is said to have been the king's exclamation on being informed of the lawless state of the country: but lest any suspicion of his designs should induce the nobles to fly to their castles and prepare for resistance, he at first dissembled and treated all alike with warm cordiality, while he tried to gain the confidence of the other classes of his people by passing wise laws for re-establishing order and prosperity in the kingdom. By prohibiting the nobles from

travelling through the country with numerous and armed retinues; by summoning all such as had obtained possession of crown-lands during the last three reigns, to prove by what right they held these lands; and by pronouncing severe penalties on every breach of the peace, on every attempt at rebellion, and on every resistance to the royal authority. James also prepared for the severe combat which he meant to sustain against the powerful aristocracy; for he well knew that the proud spirits of the barons would lead them to disregard and disobey statutes so evidently designed to coerce them, and he was prepared to carry out the utmost rigour of the laws against the first offenders. Yet the first noblemen who were sacrificed by the king in pursuance of his plans did not come under this head, but appear rather to have fallen victims to a cruel desire of revenge for past wrongs, which the king must have nourished against his uncle's family, or to a base love of lucre, which was not foreign to his character.

Eight months after James's coronation, and during the sitting of a second parliament, the former regent, Murdoch, Duke of Albany, his

two sons, the Earls of Douglas, Lennox, Angus, March, and twenty other peers of the first rank, were suddenly arrested by the king's orders; and though the greater number were soon liberated on their promising to be more submissive in future, all the members of the House of Albany, and the aged Lennox, Murdoch's father-in-law, were condemned to death, and immediately executed, and the immense estates belonging to them were declared forfeited to the crown. Barbarous as the Scottish people still was, it could not behold with indifference the cruel spectacle of two generations of one of the noblest families in the country consigned to the grave by their nearest relative, and for no specific crime; and the unpopularity which the king incurred by this hateful deed was further increased by the additional measures passed for the promotion of the commercial and industrial prosperity of the country, which, however wise they may have been, were little in accordance with ancient usages, and being too suddenly introduced, stirred up the prejudices of the people. But James was not to be deterred by their grumbling from the prosecution of his plans. His next step towards the consolidation

of the royal power was an expedition, conducted by him in person, to bring within the control of legal authority the Highlands and the Western Isles, where there existed a singular combination of Celtic and of feudal manners, and of all the worst vices incident to both. The barbarous spirit which animated the people in these parts of the country is strikingly illustrated by an event which took place previous to James's expedition. One of the ferocious katheran chiefs had carried off two cows belonging to a poor widow, who, being a high-spirited woman, swore that she would not wear shoes again until she had carried her complaint before the king. On hearing this the robber chieftain declared that he would have her shod before she reached court; and ordering her to be seized, the inhuman monster fixed two iron horse-shoes to her naked feet by means of nails driven into the flesh, and then left her bleeding and helpless on the highway. The woman, however, assisted by some passers-by, did not swerve from her original purpose, and having been cured of her wounds, sought the king and told him her story. Unrelenting, and even hard-hearted as King James frequently proved himself when

the attainment of an object required it, his indignation was roused by the recital of wanton and purposeless cruelty such as this. Orders were immediately issued for the seizure of the guilty chieftain, who, having been brought to Perth, where the king was then residing, was first paraded through the streets clad in a linen shirt, on which was depicted a rude representation of his crime, and was then dragged at horses' tails to the place of execution, and hanged. This, and other examples of the same kind, had excited a salutary terror even in the Highlands; and therefore when the king, on proceeding to Inverness, summoned the principal chiefs to meet him there, none of them thought fit to disobey. No sooner, however, were they in the king's power than forty of the leading men among them were arrested and cast into separate prisons, whence those most obnoxious for their crimes issued only to proceed to the place of execution. Others were treated with less rigour. Among these was Alexander, Lord of the Isles, the most independent and most ambitious of all the vassals of the Scottish crown, who, having been allowed to escape from prison, assembled a formidable army, broke out into

open rebellion, and reduced to ashes the town of Inverness, the scene of his recent discomfiture, which the king had then quitted. But James soon reduced the rebel to sue for peace and pardon; and then having sufficiently humbled him, restored to him his lands and possessions, which he had forfeited by his conduct. In the ensuing year, however, the whole of the northern part of the kingdom was again in a state of tumult and rebellion; and the king returning thither at the head of an army, put to death no less than three hundred of the most notorious robber chiefs.

Having by measures such as these spread dismay through the north, James next endeavoured in the south also to consolidate and extend his power. For many generations the Earls of March—the hereditary guardians of the Scottish frontiers, who, as the common saying had it, held the keys of the kingdom at their girdle—had proved themselves the proudest, most ambitious, and most dangerous subjects of the Scottish crown. The father of the present earl, whose daughter had been slighted by the Duke of Rothsay, opened, as we have seen, the gates of his country to its English foes, and

served during eight years in the English armies against Scotland. After Robert III.'s death, however, he returned to Scotland, and Albany reinstated him in possession of his estates, which had previously been declared forfeited to the crown. Availing himself of this circumstance, James—who it must be confessed often sinned against justice in his proceedings against the nobles—now laid claim to these estates, which in the meanwhile had descended to March's son; and a committee of parliament having given judgment in the king's favour, the whole of these immense possessions, including the important castle of Dunbar, passed into his hands, and the keys of the kingdom were thus transferred to the royal girdle. But while the king derived great accession of strength from this circumstance, as also by the legal reversion to the crown of the extensive estates of Alexander Stuart, Earl of Mar, son of the Wolf of Badenoch, the nobles, many of whom felt that the titles by which they held their properties were not better than those by which March held his, were in secret plotting deep and terrible revenge. Before having recourse to more violent measures, they proposed,

however, to make an appeal to parliament against what they termed the tyranny of the sovereign, and they selected as their spokesman one Sir Robert Graham, whose family had been greatly aggrieved by the king. But Graham's bold, fiery, and vindictive spirit led him too far in his assault on the royal measures; words of treason escaped his lips; the other barons, alarmed at his audacity, ventured not to support him; and the king, starting from his throne, commanded the instant arrest of the traitor, whose estates were subsequently declared forfeited to the crown, though his personal liberty was restored on condition of his never appearing again in the royal presence. With a heart swelling with every angry passion Graham fled to the Highlands, and thence addressed a letter to the king, renouncing his allegiance to him, defying him as a tyrant who had ruined his family, and warning him that on the first given opportunity he would slay him as a mortal enemy. Graham was true to his word. Having prevailed upon several other gentlemen and noblemen to join in the conspiracy, and among these several members of the House of Stuart, and attached to the royal household, he resolved

to seize the occasion of the court being assembled in the Black Friars' Monastery at Perth for the Christmas festival, to consummate his revenge. James had placed a price on Graham's head after the receipt of his letter of defiance, and, naturally fearless, thought no more of him. He was not, however, without a warning of his coming doom, for three times a Highland woman—to whom the superstition of the times attributed prophetic powers, and who had probably attained some knowledge of the conspiracy—endeavoured to rouse him to a sense of his danger; but in vain. The 20th of February,* on which day there was great revelling at court, was selected by the conspirators. Towards midnight, when the king was about to retire to rest, and the queen and her ladies were alone in the room with him, the clash of arms and the glare of torches in the court suddenly aroused his suspicions, and he remembered Graham's threat and the Highland woman's warning. The queen and her ladies rushed to the doors to secure them; but Sir

*According to the mode of reckoning which prevailed until the commencement of the seventeenth century, the year ended in March.

Robert Stuart, the chamberlain, who was in league with Graham, had removed the locks and bolts. This fact at once revealed to the king that there were conspirators among his household, and that his life was aimed at. He did not, however, lose his presence of mind; but calling to the women to defend the doors as long as they could, he seized a pair of tongs from the fire-place, and wrenching up one of the boards in the floor, let himself down into a small vault which he knew was situated below. He had barely time to draw the board cautiously over the opening again, when the conspirators, who had gained access into the monastery by surreptitious means, and had disarmed all the guards, came rushing along the lobby leading to the royal chamber; and having slain a young page, the only person who was there to oppose their passage, forced open the door, and in so doing snapped asunder the arm of the Lady Catherine Douglas, which she had heroically thrust into the staples from which the bolts had been removed. At the sight of the bloodstained weapons of the murderers, the women shrieked and fled into the corners—the queen alone, in a loose night-dress and with dishevelled

hair, remaining in the middle of the floor as if rooted to the spot by terror. Diligent search was made for the king, but the loosened board escaped the notice of the traitors, and they left the room to extend their scrutiny to other parts of the building. The king perceiving this, impatiently cried to the women to help him up. In the act of so doing, one of the ladies fell down into the vault, and the conspirators hastening back on hearing the noise caused by her fall, detected their victim in his hiding-place. The king's friends in the city, who by this time had heard of the assault, were already hastening to the rescue; but before they could reach the spot, the dreadful tragedy was completed, and King James, who had fought desperately for his life, had sunk under the last murderous thrust of Graham's sword.

Thus perished James I. in the prime of life, and with him perished in a great measure all the projects for the internal improvement of Scotland, which he was too impetuously endeavouring to carry out. During his reign of only thirteen years, the great council of the nation was assembled fourteen times; the frequency of these assemblies having probably been one of

the means employed by the king to humanise the nobles by bringing them in contact with the other orders of the state, and accustoming them to act in concert with the crown for the good of the whole nation, instead of remaining shut up in their castles, surrounded by submissive dependents only, without any means of expanding their minds and sympathies, and solely intent on the promotion of their own selfish interests. Some of the enactments of these parliaments immediately concerning the nobles have already been touched upon. Others bore more directly on the condition of the humbler classes of the people. Among these none do more honour to the king that proposed them than the statutes strictly enjoining the equal dispensation of justice without fraud or favour to poor and rich alike, and the providing of gratuitous counsel to such parties as were too poor to pay an advocate; as also the appointment of the court, called the Court of Sessions, to sit three times in the year at various places in the kingdom, to examine and decide in all cases of complaint and quarrel brought before it. To this court the people might appeal against decisions pronounced in the courts

which each baron held within his own dominions, and its establishment was thus also a means of curtailing their power; measures were likewise taken to diffuse a knowledge of the laws throughout the country, to prevent the people from submitting in ignorance to unjust oppressions.

Other enactments passed during this reign, though less important, are curiously illustrative of the state of the country, and of the manners of the times. One ordered each baron within his barony to search for and slay the wolves' whelps, and to hold wolf-hunts four times in the year. Another regulated all matters relating to lepers; for the Scottish people, like all other nations of Europe at that period, were subject to this dreadful disease. The lepers were to dwell at the gates of the cities only, or without their walls, and were never to enter a burgh except thrice in the week for the purpose of purchasing their food; and in case there should be a fair or market on such day, they were to come in the early morn, so as not to be mixed up with the other people. Other enactments prescribed the arms to be worn by the various classes in the community, and even the

amount of finery to be worn by the ladies was determined by law. The constant state of tumult and disorder had not prevented the love of luxury from spreading in the country, and according to the mistaken notions of the times, it was thought necessary to restrain the growing taste by legislation. Persons having less than a certain specified income, and being of lower degree than a knight, or a knight's eldest son, were forbidden to wear clothes of silk, embroidered with gold and pearls, and trimmed with costly furs; and the wives of the burghers —who no doubt availed themselves of the wealth which the increasing commerce of the country accumulated in the coffers of their husbands to rival the court ladies in the costliness of their dress—were ordered to discontinue the use of long trains, rich hoods and ruffs, "purfled" sleeves, and costly "curches of lawn;" while all gentlewomen in general were recommended to take care that their expenditure did not exceed the personal estate of their husbands. As regards the poor, it was enacted that the troops of sturdy mendicants who were, it seems, in the habit of traversing the country, forcing themselves into farmhouses and monastic

establishments, extorting charity, and insisting upon being furnished with quarters, should be put down. Exception was, however, made in favour of such among the brotherhood who could prove that they were incapacitated for any other means of making a livelihood. These were to be furnished by the authorities with a token in proof of such incapacity, and might then continue their former vocation. On the other hand, the hostellers and innkeepers having complained that the king's lieges, when travelling, were in the habit of taking up their residence with friends and acquaintance, instead of at the public-house, to redress this grievance a law was passed prohibiting persons travelling on foot and horseback from having any other place of meeting in village or burgh than the inn; and the inhabitants were forbidden, under a penalty, to tender their hospitality to wayfarers. The nobles, however, were allowed the privilege of putting up at a friend's house, but on condition of sending their horses and servants to swell the receipts of the publicans.

Chap. VI.—The Douglasses and the King with the Fiery Face—The Brother Foes—King James the Chivalrous.

The murderers of James I. were put to death under tortures too dreadful to detail, but the government derived no strength from the atrocities. James II., who succeeded to his father, was a child six years of age, and the nobles availed themselves of this circumstance to recover all that they had lost during the preceding reign. The family of Douglas in particular, whose fortunes had commenced under Robert Bruce, and had now attained a height which placed its chief almost on an equality with the king, proved itself particularly troublesome, and the history of the reign of James II. is in a great measure the history of the struggles between the crown and the various members of this family, which at length, however, ended in the destruction of the latter The struggle commenced by the proud Archibald, Earl of Douglas, refusing to submit to the

authority of Sir Alexander Livingstone and Sir William Crichton, two able men, but of obscure origin, whom James I. had raised to power, and who were intrusted with the government of the country and the custody of the king's person until he should be of age. Archibald Douglas died the year after James II.'s accession; but his son William, a youth of seventeen, who succeeded to his titles and to his immense estates, inherited likewise his father's pride, to which was added a most offensive arrogance in the display of his wealth and power, and a reckless disregard of his duties to the sovereign. He forbade his vassals to recognise any other authority than his; he created knights, named officers, civil and military, appointed a privy-council, and never appeared in public except surrounded with more than royal pomp. Such a character, backed by such power, it became of the utmost importance to crush; and Livingstone and Crichton being men deeply tainted with the vices of the times in which they lived, and being too weak to venture to attack openly so powerful a nobleman, did not scruple to decoy the young earl and his only brother into Edinburgh Castle under friendly pretences, and

then caused them to be put to death. The granduncle of the two murdered youths, who succeeded to the title at their death, having, according to an old chronicle, "four tons of tallow in him," was too fat to be turbulent, and was moreover advanced in years; he therefore died quietly in his bed; but his son and successor William, eighth Earl of Douglas, having plotted treason with the Yorkist faction in England and with the Highland nobles at home, fell by the hand of the sovereign himself. James, who had by that time attained the age of manhood, and who was anxious to maintain good government in the country, having been informed of the confederacy which Douglas had formed with some of the barons of the north, sent for the earl and endeavoured to persuade him to break the league. Douglas insolently refused, and James, who was called by the people, "The King with the Fiery Face," because of a bright red mark on his cheek, and whose temper was as fiery as his face, losing all control over himself, drew his dagger, and exclaiming: "If you will not, this shall!" stabbed him to the heart. This foul deed, which has left an indelible stain on the name

of James II., was as impolitic as it was criminal; for five brothers of Douglas survived to avenge his murder, and the country was soon divided into two hostile camps, a great number of the nobles siding with the Douglasses, and others rallying round the king. On the eve of a battle which might have transferred the crown of Scotland from the House of Stuart to the House of Douglas, the earl's adherents, won over by the king's faithful counsellor and kinsman, Kennedy, bishop of St Andrews, deserted his banners, and the fortunes of this branch of the family of Douglas fell never to rise again.

During the few years which intervened between the conclusion of this disastrous civil war and the death of James II., the condition of the country greatly improved under the firm and vigorous administration of the monarch, who availed himself of the dismay which the total ruin of the most powerful member of their order had spread among the nobles, to induce parliament to pass new laws curtailing their privileges and extending the prerogatives of the crown. But unfortunately for Scotland, a treaty entered into with Henry VI. of England, who was then contending for his crown against the

Duke of York, led James, in 1460, into hostilities with the Yorkist faction in England; and he was laying siege to Roxburgh Castle, which, together with Berwick, had remained in the hands of the English since the wars with Edward I., when he was killed by the bursting of a cannon, and the crown again descended to a child only eight years old.

Again Scotland became the scene of intrigue and turbulence; but in spite of the weakness of the government, consequent on the king's minority, the early part of James III.'s reign was in many respects singularly prosperous. The earldom of Ross was annexed to the crown, the possessions of which were further increased by the acquisition of the Shetland and Orkney islands, brought in dower by a Princess of Denmark, to whom the king was married; and Roxburgh and Berwick were again occupied by the Scots. But after the king attained his majority, and took the reins of government in his own hands, matters assumed a very different aspect. By nature as well as by education James III. was little qualified to govern a country sunk in such rude barbarism as Scotland at that time. Of unwarlike and indolent dispo-

sition, of tastes and habits refined and even effeminate, passionately devoted to the fine arts and to abstruse science, and curiously fond of rich and gorgeous apparel and costly arms, the king gave himself up to a life of seclusion and soft repose, surrounding himself with musicians, architects, painters, mathematicians, and astrologers, and even with armourers, tailors, and fencing-masters. He thus incurred the hatred and contempt of the haughty and warlike nobles, who, rude, ignorant, and illiterate, when not occupied in foreign wars or in private feuds at home, knew no better occupation than the chase or the mimic combat of the tournament, and considered every other pursuit as beneath the dignity of a man. Stung to fury by the king's neglect, and by his evident preference of persons who, in their eyes, were nothing better than low, baseborn minions, they gathered around James's brothers—the Duke of Albany and the Earl of Mar—men of bold and enterprising spirit, excelling in all the warlike and chivalrous attainments in which the king was deficient, and therewith of goodly presence—a quality much prized in those days, though the ideas of the stalwart barons as to manly beauty

must have been somewhat different from ours; for the Duke of Albany is described as being of "mid-stature, broad-shouldered, and well-proportioned in all his members, and especially in his face—that is to say, he was broad-faced, red-nosed, great-eared, and of very awful countenance when he pleased to shew himself to his unfriends." As long as harmony prevailed among the royal brothers, the ascendancy which the two younger ones exercised over the nobles proved favourable to the peace of the kingdom. But in 1478 Cochrane, an architect, and one of the king's favourites, having leagued himself with the powerful family of the Humes, between whom and Albany a rivalry had sprung up, and being in consequence desirous of ruining the latter, availed himself of the king's superstitious faith in astrology and divination to poison his mind against his brothers. A Flemish astrologer, who was attached to the king's court, was induced to prophesy, in the usual mysterious terms used by soothsayers, that a lion would soon be devoured by his whelps; and a female seer was made to declare that a spirit with whom she held intercourse had revealed to her that the king was destined to fall by the hand of his

nearest relatives, and that the Earl of Mar was endeavouring by magical arts to put a term to the king's existence. The belief in magic and witchcraft was at that period prevalent throughout all countries and all classes, and James was not, therefore, singular in attaching importance to information gained by such means.

An attack made by Albany upon the Humes was next represented as the commencement of his hostilities against the crown; and James, who until then had been an affectionate and confiding brother, was induced to seize the duke and commit him to prison in Edinburgh Castle; while the Earl of Mar was confined in some other place of safety, and the witches and wizards whom he was said to have consulted were committed to the flames. The younger prince died soon after in prison; but the Duke of Albany having escaped from confinement, and being now in reality full of hostility to his brother, first endeavoured to instigate the king of France to make war upon James, and having met with no success, afterwards entered into treasonable negotiations with Edward IV. of England, who promised to aid him in seizing the Scottish crown, provided he would hold it as a vassal of

England. To this Albany assented, and many of the Scottish nobles, farther exasperated against the king by new honours heaped by him on his ignoble favourites, eagerly entered into the conspiracy. An English army, commanded by Edward IV.'s brother, Richard Duke of Gloucester, and accompanied by Albany, advanced into Scotland. To meet this army James III., who seems to have suspected no evil from his barons at home, assembled his forces, and marched to Lauder. Here Cochrane the favourite distinguished himself by the extraordinary splendour of his camp-furniture and of his wearing-apparel. His tent is said to have been of silk, and fastened with chains richly gilt; his arms were of polished steel inlaid with gold; his riding-habit of black velvet; and round his neck he wore a massive chain of gold, from which was suspended a hunting-horn tipped with gold and adorned with precious stones. This was too much for the nobles; they could bear his insolent presence no longer, and were just deliberating in secret conclave how to rid themselves of him and his fellows, when Cochrane unfortunately entered. He was at once assailed with words of indignity—one

pulling off his chain, another laying hold of his hunting-horn, while others seized his hands, and having bound them, secured his person. Others again, rushing to the king's tent, seized the other favourites even in the presence of their royal master, and hurrying them, together with Cochrane, to a neighbouring bridge, hung them all over the parapet without further ceremony; though Cochrane, maintaining his foppery to the last, implored to be hanged by a silken cord, and not by a common rope. The conspirators next disbanded the army, and returning to Edinburgh, shut the king up in the castle, while Albany and the English army entered the country unopposed.

These circumstances convey strange ideas of the state of society in Scotland at this time. It will be observed that the king had little or no power. The nobles kept him in a state of continual alarm for his safety, and absolutely went the length of seizing him and putting him in prison; but the poor monarch was reserved for a worse fate. Having gained his liberty, James exerted his authority, and governed the country with firmness and dignity. At length a faction took the field against him; a battle

ensued near Stirling on the 11th June 1488, and in this affair the king was killed. It has indeed been alleged that he was treacherously stabbed by an enemy disguised as a priest. So perished the unfortunate James III., a man not fitted for the rude period in which he lived.

The Duke of Rothsay succeeded to his father by the title of James IV. Though he had for a short while been misled into rebellion, the young king was deeply grieved at the heinous crime that had caused his promotion to the throne, and he never ceased to upbraid himself for the share which, though unconsciously, he had in bringing about that tragical event. But James IV. was of a fickle and impulsive character; and though remorse led him to wear constantly round his waist an iron girdle, the weight of which he augmented every year, and to perform various other acts of penance, it does not seem otherwise to have interfered with his enjoyment of life; for from the beginning of his reign to the end, the court of this monarch was distinguished for its gaiety and licentiousness of manners. The love of pleasure inherent in the king's character was, however, made subservient to higher purposes than mere selfish

gratification; for the treasures which his father had amassed were spent by him in tournaments, hunts, masked-balls, and other chivalrous and courtly pageants, not only for his own amusement, but also as a means of attaching to his court and person the warlike vassals whose friendship he sought to win, because he had learned by the experience of his predecessors that to hold them in due subordination the crown was not sufficiently powerful; and he concluded that it would be better to govern the country with their co-operation, than to keep it in a constant state of turmoil by vain efforts to coerce them. This plan was so successful, that with the exception of an abortive insurrection, got up immediately after his accession by the adherents of James III., who raised the murdered monarch's bloody shirt as their banner, and some risings in the Highlands and Western Isles, the history of James IV.'s reign is not defaced by any of those disastrous civil broils which had so long been the curse of the country.

Owing to this unusual state of tranquillity, and to the wise measures adopted by the king and the able barons whom he admitted to his

councils, the internal prosperity of the country greatly increased. For the putting down of theft, robbery, and murder—crimes which were then very prevalent—and for better preserving in future the police of the kingdom, the country was divided into many districts, authority over each being intrusted to some powerful baron, who bound himself by an oath to exert himself to the utmost to detect offenders and bring them to trial. Even in the wild and lawless districts of the Highlands and Islands efforts were made to introduce a more regular system of government, for which purpose the king cultivated the same friendly relations with the most powerful chieftains in these localities as he maintained with the barons in the south, and with the same success. Twice, indeed, partial rebellions broke out in the north, but their expression only led to the firmer establishment of the royal power there, and to the introduction of the same severe and rapid administration of justice as prevailed in the Lowlands; and thus James's popular manners and wise measures combined, consolidated his power and united the various portions of his empire by the bands of equal laws. In other respects, also,

Scotland advanced rapidly during this prosperous reign. The foreign commerce of the country, which had been steadily progressing under favour of the external peace which prevailed during the two preceding reigns, received a still further development under the protection of a royal navy, which was founded by James, and manned with all the stout vagrants who frequented the maritime districts. As a natural consequence of the extension of its commerce, the diplomatic relations of the country with other states were also extended, and in 1503 we find James IV. in alliance with France, Germany, Spain, Denmark, and several other countries—a sure proof that Scotland had begun to count for something among the states of Europe. The fisheries, also, as sources of national wealth and nurseries for seamen, were objects of the solicitude of James IV.; and shipbuilding, and the various branches of industry connected with this, were likewise encouraged.

Notwithstanding the sanguinary turbulence which had prevailed in Scotland during two centuries, the national mind had not remained quite stationary, and some desire and respect

for learning had been evinced in the foundation of a university at St Andrews in 1410, and another at Glasgow, 1453. To these was added, during the reign of James IV., a third institution of the same nature at Aberdeen; and the moral and intellectual improvement of the nation was further evinced by laws ordering all barons and freeholders throughout the country to send their sons to school as soon as they had attained the age of eight or nine years, and afterwards to place them at superior seminaries, where they might acquire a sufficient knowledge of the laws to enable them to fill with honour to themselves and profit to the nation the various magisterial offices in the kingdom. One of the chief motives for this provision was, that poor people should not be obliged, in order to obtain redress for every petty grievance, to lay complaint before the king's courts, but that justice might be done to them by the decision of a local magistrate; and this law is therefore a new proof of the growing respect for the welfare of the lower classes also, which is one of the surest signs of the progress of society. The improvement in education told favourably on literature

and the development of the language, and several poets, writing in their native tongue, flourished at James's court. But that which in particular marks his reign as a turning-point in the history of the nation, is the introduction of the printing-press—the first of these great revolutionary machines having found its way into Scotland under the auspices of one Walter Chapman, who was much in favour with the king.

James IV. had attained the age of thirty without being married; for though the propriety of his choosing a wife had been frequently urged by his counsellors, various reasons had until then deterred him, notwithstanding several among the princes of Europe had proved themselves anxious to bestow a bride on the Scottish monarch. Henry VII. of England, in particular, a far-sighted and wary politician, had always shewn a decided wish to be on amicable terms with Scotland, and to secure such, had made repeated proposals of a matrimonial alliance between the two countries. But James IV. had as constantly shewn a wayward and groundless aversion to England, and in 1496 even made a hostile

was left with about 30,000 followers, almost all men of good families, to encounter a considerable English army which the Earl of Surrey was marching against him. In vain the king's counsellors had urged upon him the folly of this expedition, and in vain they endeavoured, on the eve of battle, to prevail upon him at all events not to expose his own person unnecessarily. Their prudent and patriotic representations were replied to by the king in scoffing and insulting terms; and qualifying their caution as cowardice, he even refused to avail himself of the advantages over the enemy which his position afforded, because, he maintained, to do so would be unworthy of a true knight. The nobles, unable to restrain their headstrong monarch, generously determined at least to stand by him to the last. From four o'clock in the afternoon of the 9th September 1513 until the shades of night put an end to the carnage, the English and the Scots were engaged in deadly conflict; but neither army was driven out of the field. The extraordinary personal valour of the Scottish king seemed to rouse a spirit of emulation even among the common soldiers, and the carnage being so

great that the ground became soft and slippery with blood, they took off their shoes, to secure a firmer footing by fighting in their stockings. But on the side of the English there was equal valour, and superior generalship and discipline; and the consequence was, that having first completely routed the right wing of the Scottish army, they were enabled to attack the centre, which was commanded by the king, in the front, in the rear, and in the flank. Even in this desperate situation James, careless of his safety, but jealous of his reputation as a valorous knight, continued to animate his soldiers by his voice and by his gestures; but suddenly he fell, pierced by an arrow, and mortally wounded in the head by a bill. With the fury of despair the Scottish nobles formed a circle round his body, and fought for him when dead as they had fought for him while living, until darkness shaded foe from foe. But the dawn of the following morning revealed that few of them had survived their monarch. Thirteen Scottish earls, six prelates, fifteen lords and chiefs of clans, besides a great number of the inferior nobility, and 10,000 common soldiers, had fallen on that fatal field of Flodden, and bore their king company

in death! Happily the English general, the Earl of Surrey, did not immediately follow up his victory, and the broken remnant of the Scottish army was allowed to return home unmolested, to communicate the dreadful tidings.

Chapter VII.—The Poor Man's King—The Reformation.

Deep was the grief of Scotland for her king and the flower of her nobility, and fearful was the state of confusion into which the country fell during the minority of the infant, who now succeeded to the throne under the title of James V. The queen, Margaret Tudor, still in the bloom of youth and beauty, assumed at once the office of regent; but a few months after her royal consort's death she contracted a second marriage with Douglas, Earl of Angus—a very young man, who as yet was distinguished only by his handsome person, but whose talents and ambition were destined to restore the House of

Douglas to all its former power. By this step she forfeited the esteem of the people; and a numerous party in the country determined to transfer the reins of government to the hands of the Duke of Albany, son of the rebellious brother of James III., who had ended his days in France, in which country also the son had received his education, and had resided up to the date when the Scottish estates tendered him the office of regent, because of his near relationship to the king.

Hesitation on his part retarded the arrival of Albany in Scotland until two years after the death of James IV., and in the meanwhile the country had sunk into a dreadful state of anarchy. The nobles being divided into two parties—the one, headed by the queen and Angus, determined to uphold the authority of Margaret; the other equally determined to stand by Albany—these political animosities soon led to open violence and bloodshed, and the private feuds which had so frequently brought the country to the brink of ruin likewise broke out with renewed fury. Even the dignified clergy, generally the ablest, the wisest, and the best-conducted members of the Scottish people,

were engaged in open contests with one another on account of some vacant benefices, which each endeavoured to secure to himself. While such disorders prevailed among the high and mighty of the land, numerous bands of armed banditti made war alike on high and low; and by all classes the laws and the government were held equally in contempt. In addition to this, Henry VIII. of England, entertaining the same interested views with regard to Scotland as so many of his predecessors, exerted himself to the utmost by intrigue, bribery, and hostile attacks upon the Borders, to aggravate the disturbances in his infant nephew's realm, and even endeavoured to gain possession of the young king's person.

Such was the state of matters when Albany arrived in 1515; and though his prudent and decided measures for a short while restored some semblance of public order, the regent possessed neither the intellectual vigour nor the moral firmness required for carrying through the task imposed upon him. Before he had been a year in Scotland, he felt himself so harassed by the numerous intrigues by which he was surrounded, and by the many lawless

factions against which he had to contend, and had rendered himself so unpopular by the strong partiality he evinced for France, whose interests in Scotland he adopted in opposition to those of England, that he is said to have expressed a wish that he had broken arms and legs the day he set sail for the wretched country he was called to govern; and after the lapse of another year he sought and obtained permission to revisit the happier kingdom which had until then been his home. His departure was the signal for renewed anarchy. De la Bastie, a distinguished French knight, whom he had nominated Warden of the Marches during his absence, was seized and slain by one of the fierce Border chiefs whose turbulence it was his duty to repress, and who, dissevering the head of his victim from the body, tied it by its long locks to his saddle-bow, and carried it home as a trophy.

The country now became divided between the factions of the Earl of Angus and of Hamilton, Earl of Arran, grandson of King James II., and consequently a near kinsman of the young sovereign. To obtain justice, or to prosper in any way in Scotland during that period, it was necessary to be either a "Douglas's man" or a

"Hamilton's man," as the adherents of the two earls were called; and in such a state of turmoil did the feuds between the two factions keep the country, that the luxurious and ease-loving Albany—loth to return to the theatre of so much turbulence—protracted his stay in France for five years. At length Angus's power became for a time paramount, in consequence of a desperate affray which took place between the two parties in the streets of Edinburgh, in which seventy men of the Hamiltons were slain, and which was popularly and jocosely termed the "cleaning of the causeway," because of the Douglasses having, as it were, swept their adversaries off the streets. But shortly after, Queen Margaret, who had for some time been estranged from her husband, whose neglect and imperious treatment of her had converted her love for him into hatred, invited Albany, whom she had formerly much opposed, to return; and though her friendship for him proved very shortlived, their united strength sufficed to drive Douglas out of the country. The regent, however, was very speedily confirmed in his previous experience, that he was incapable of coping successfully for any length of time with the base

factions that divided the country, and sold their allegiance to the highest bidder, whether a native leader or a foreign foe. Utterly disgusted with Scottish affairs, he again withdrew to France in 1523, with the firm resolve never to return to the land of his fathers, and for awhile Queen Margaret again sat at the helm of the state. But Angus now returned, as full of ambition as ever, and supported by the king of England, whose tool he had consented to be; and while he rose to that undivided power in the state which he had so long coveted, Margaret, having obtained a divorce from him, sunk into the contempt she deserved by contracting a third marriage with Henry Stuart, second son of Lord Evandale.

Thenceforward Angus and his faction ruled not only the country, but the sovereign, with intolerable despotism; for as regent the king's person was intrusted to him, and he so surrounded the royal youth with his creatures, that he was debarred all liberty of action. Even after the young king had completed his fourteenth year, the period fixed by law for his assuming the reins of government in his own hands, this state of durance continued; but

James V. was a boy of no common character or abilities, and his proud spirit writhed under the dominion his usurping vassal had established over him; and the corruption, the oppressions, and the overbearing insolence of the Douglas faction having roused the indignation of many of the nobles, the king succeeded in establishing communications with some of these, and in the year 1528 he effected his liberation by secret flight. Sir George Douglas who, under the title of master of the royal household, acted the part of the king's jailer, was induced to leave the palace of Falkland, where the king was then staying, for a few hours only, to transact some important private business with the chancellor, Beaton, who was acting in secret concert with the monarch. In accordance with the plan laid down, James gave orders for a hunting-party next day, and then retired early to rest, under pretext of being obliged to rise with the dawn on the following morning. No sooner, however, was everything quiet in the palace, than the king, rising from his bed, put on a disguise held in readiness for him by a faithful domestic who was in the secret, and repairing to the stables with this man, he threw himself on a swift

courser, and gallopped off to the neighbouring fortress of Stirling, where everything was prepared for his reception. As soon as James had entered, the gates of the castle were closed, couriers were despatched in all directions to announce to his adherents his happy deliverance, and in a few hours he found himself a free monarch, surrounded by numerous vassals ready to help him to maintain the liberty he had at length attained. Angus was not, however, disposed to give up power without a struggle. He put all his castles into a state of defence, armed his numerous retainers, and carried fire and sword into the royal domains. But James's exasperation grew with every new insult: he declared that as long as he lived no Douglas should find a resting-place in Scotland; and a parliament which assembled soon after, having attainted the earl and his adherents, the chiefs of the mighty House were at length, after having escaped many dangers and endured much misery, obliged to seek a refuge in England.

The natural talents of James V. had been early discovered by his foes as well as his friends, and were such as, developed under favourable circumstances, would have rendered

him one of the most distinguished monarchs of his time. But the Douglasses, anxious to repress qualities which would render him impatient of their control, neglected his education, while by indulgence they fostered the more vicious propensities of his nature. Nevertheless the young monarch, at the moment of his emancipation, and also throughout the rest of his reign, proved that though he had not entirely escaped the pollution of the evil influences to which he had been subjected, he still possessed several of those qualities which most adorn a sovereign. He was endowed with uncommon vigour and resolution of mind, and was animated by a generous hatred of oppression; and while, therefore, he proceeded with the utmost rigour against the turbulent and tyrannical nobles, to break whose power became the chief object of his reign, he was affectionate and affable to the other classes of his subjects, and ever ready to redress their grievances and to ameliorate their condition. Being of the same romantic turn of mind as his father, he used to go among the poor in various disguises, to learn to know their wants from personal observation; and so successful was he in gaining their affections, that he obtained

from them the endearing title of "The Poor Man's King."

There were other classes of his subjects among whom James also used to appear when least expected, but in a more terrible character. These were the fierce banditti who infested the country, and whom the king invaded in their fastnesses; sometimes riding by night through solitary and remote parts of the country, accompanied by a slender retinue only, in order to come unawares upon the offenders, who, when seized, were frequently hung up at once at their own castle gates. Among the chiefs of these robber-bands figured the names of many men of high birth and station; and James's crusades against them were therefore not only undertaken with a view to the protection of the property of those upon whom they preyed, but formed part of his plan against the nobility. Towards the latter he began, as soon as he felt himself strong enough, to evince much coldness and distrust; suffering no opportunity of humbling them to escape; aggravating even slight offences into real crimes, and punishing them as such; and listening with avidity to all accusations against the barons which afforded a pretext for curtailing

their power. Such persecution of course called forth the hatred of the class against whom it was directed; but though expressing itself in repeated conspiracies, and by a continuance of treasonable relations with the exiled Douglasses, and through them with the court of England, this hatred remained for a long while impotent—partly owing to an absence of talent among the leaders of the aristocracy, partly to the great ability displayed by another class of the community with whom the king wisely entered into a close alliance. Under the feudal system the church was reckoned one of the estates of the realm, and as such had numerous representatives in parliament; while also, independently of their seats in the great council of the nation, the clergy exercised considerable influence in consequence of their superior learning, of the sacred character attached to their profession, of the immense wealth which, in the course of ages, had accumulated in their hands, and of the hold which their office gave them over the minds of men; besides which, the dignitaries of the church held, as possessors of land, with regard to their numerous retainers, a position similar to that of feudal barons—even the warlike tastes

and accomplishments of the latter being no uncommon qualities in churchmen of those times. In one respect, however, this powerful class differed materially from the nobles, and that was their dependence on the crown. Ecclesiastical benefices were not hereditary, and in Scotland the right of nomination to vacant abbeys and bishoprics was vested solely in the sovereigns—the distance and poverty of the kingdom having prevented the popes of Rome from interfering with and usurping that right here as they had done in other countries. By means, therefore, of the favours he had to bestow, by choosing his ministers and all the dignitaries of the state exclusively from their order, and by holding out to them the prospect of lowering the pride and power of the rival order of the nobles, from whom they had often had to endure much, James V. succeeded in winning this influential class entirely to his views; and by their assistance he was enabled not only to hold the nobility in check, but to carry out several wise measures for the improvement of the country.

As years passed on, however, this alliance with the clergy led to very disastrous conse-

quences, by bringing the king into opposition to the mightiest cause which for centuries had stirred the human mind. This was the Reformation, which had already produced great revolutions in other countries, and was now beginning to spread in Scotland also. In 1528, already the Scottish clergy, anxious to crush in the bud opinions which had proved themselves so formidable to the Romish Church, had burnt upon the stake a scion of the House of Hamilton, who had studied at Wittenberg under Luther, and had returned thence to propagate in his own country the truths he had learned from the great reformer. It was remarked at the time that the smoke of this sacrifice seemed to infect every one upon whom it blew: the very priest who was sent to exhort the martyr while in prison was converted by him; and from the period of the cruel death of Patrick Hamilton, the reformed tenets spread rapidly in Scotland. Many members of the priesthood even adopted the new doctrines, and they, as well as other apostles of the purified faith, braved every danger to life and liberty to go about preaching in secret places, for openly they could not do so. Books explanatory of the new religious views

also found their way into Scotland from England in spite of all efforts to prevent them; and numerous copies of the Bible, translated into the language of the people, were in particular eagerly studied, and contributed more than anything else to spread a hatred of the Church of Rome. To the various defects in the prevalent system James V. was by no means blind; and in his general conduct he shewed so little bigotry, that many have been induced to believe that he would readily have embraced the cause of the Reformation had it not been for the peculiar political obligations under which he lay to the dignified clergy of his realm. As it was, he declared his determination to uphold the religion of his fathers, and to resist the enemies of the church. This led to an unpleasant altercation with Henry VIII., and ultimately to a declaration of war by the irascible English monarch. James crossed the Borders with an armed force to meet this aggression—was defeated; and, broken-hearted with the disaster, died shortly afterwards (1542.)

Once more, at a period of unusual difficulty, the crown of Scotland descended to an infant and a female; for though his queen, Mary of

Guise, had borne two sons to James V., these both died before him, and the daughter Mary, who now succeeded him, came into the world only a few days before his death. The parties which at this period divided the state were of a somewhat different character to all previous ones, for the Reformation had introduced new interests and a new rallying-point; and on the one side were now ranged the clergy, and those who with them endeavoured to uphold the system of the Church of Rome, and on the other the great majority of the nobles who had espoused the cause of the Reformation, and wished to break up the ancient religious system. Cardinal Beatoun, a very able but ambitious and unscrupulous man, who had been the minister of the late king, acted as chief of the Catholic party, and attempted at once to obtain the situation of regent. But he was defeated by the nobles, who elected the Earl of Arran, he being next heir to the crown, and a friend to the reformed tenets. Under the authority of parliament, and of the governor, as Arran was called, the Scriptures, which the Romish Church did not allow the public to read, were openly studied; the works of the most

eminent reformers were freely imported; and it seemed as if the new opinions were to be allowed to work their way unopposed. But Henry VIII. of England, delighted at the opportunity now offered for uniting the two kingdoms under one sovereignty, immediately on receiving tidings of King James's death, despatched ambassadors to Scotland to propose a matrimonial alliance between his son Edward and the infant queen, demanding at the same time that, if the proposal were accepted, the queen, together with the chief fortresses in the realm, should at once be placed in his hands. In spite of the insulting character of this part of the proposition, the governor and the lords friendly to the Reformation listened to it with some favour, because the alliance promised to strengthen their cause. But Cardinal Beatoun, availing himself of the popular indignation, turned it to the advantage of the party he represented, and caused the treaty to be broken off at once. Henry, burning with indignation, then threatened to revenge himself upon the Scots with fire and sword—a threat which he carried out so effectually in three successive invasions of the country, that the Earl of Huntly, alluding to the cause of the

hostilities, remarked that "he thought well enough of the match, but in truth he liked not the way of wooing." Henry did not, however, effect any good for himself by these violent proceedings, which merely strengthened the Catholic party in Scotland, while they depressed in the same measure the cause of the Reformation; for Arran, a man of weak and vacillating character, was gained over by Beatoun, and now sanctioned the suppression of the new doctrines by every tyrannical means; and the people also were for a time strongly prejudiced against a cause which they identified with that of England.

Beatoun, who now in reality governed the country, availed himself of the state of the popular mind to strike terror into the reformers by making a signal example of one of the secret preachers, who, in spite of all difficulties, still persevered in endeavouring to spread their doctrines. For this purpose he selected one George Wishart, particularly distinguished for his zeal and piety, and having condemned him to the death of a heretic, caused him to be burnt in front of the archiepiscopal palace of St Andrews. It is said that when the martyr was

on the stake, he foretold that the cardinal—who had come out upon the balcony to witness his last agonies—would erelong be hurled from his seat of power, and would suffer a death as dreadful as that of his victim. Whether or not the prediction really took place, revenge did indeed speedily overtake the cruel churchman. A conspiracy against his life had long existed, and indignation at his treatment of Wishart now precipitated the execution. The palace in which the cardinal resided being under repair, the conspirators entered, on the 29th May 1546, along with the workmen, and found their way to the chamber of their intended victim, who was still in bed. Having murdered him in cold blood, they proceeded to the balcony, where a few weeks before he had sat and gloated over Wishart's sufferings, and flung the corpse over the balustrade down into the area below.

In the beginning of the following year Henry VIII. died; but the Duke of Somerset, who governed England as Lord Protector during the minority of Edward VI., entertaining the same views with regard to Scotland, entered the country with a large army, and, like Henry, held out to the Scots the alternative of affiancing their

infant queen to the boy-king of England, or of seeing their country devastated by his army. The governor, in great dismay, and to insure the assembly of a force sufficient to meet the emergency, had recourse to the Fiery Cross—a Celtic mode of calling the people to battle, which was not resorted to except in cases of great danger, and never in vain. The fiery cross was formed of hazel-twigs, the extremities of which were seared in the fire, and when red, were quenched in the blood of a goat, killed for the occasion. This symbol of war, fixed on the point of a spear, was carried through town, village, and hamlet, throughout the land; and wherever it appeared, the people girded up their loins, and flocked round the banners of their country. A strong army was thus mustered to meet Somerset; but the Scots, acting with their usual unreflecting precipitancy in war, were signally defeated in the battle of Pinkey. The English failing to follow up the advantage they had gained, the most disastrous results of this invasion, as regards Scotland, was the renewed detestation and fear of England which it inspired, and which induced the nobility to consent to a proposal, made by the governor and

the queen-dowager, to marry the young queen to the dauphin of France—a measure which, they represented, would at once put an end to the ambitious plans of England, and secure to Scotland the support of France against her encroaching neighbour. This plan was extremely agreeable to France, and Arran was rewarded with the French title of Duke of Chatelherault, and with a pension; and little Queen Mary, then six years old, accompanied by four other little Marys—selected from four noble families of Scotland to be her playmates—was sent (1548) to the country of her future husband, where she was educated under the direction of her maternal uncles, the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine, the most strenuous supporters of the Catholic cause on the continent.

From this period Scotland enjoyed for some years a state of unusual quiet, during which the Reformation made rapid progress. The spread of the new opinions was partly owing to the zeal of the preachers, among whom was the famous John Knox, who eventually became the religious leader of the Protestants in Scotland; partly to the intrigues of the queen-mother,

Mary of Guise, who, anxious to replace the Duke of Chatelherault as regent, favoured in every way the reformers, who had become his enemies since his apostasy; and partly owing to the great influx of English Protestants, who were driven out of their own country by the persecutions of Queen Mary, a bigoted Catholic, who had succeeded her brother Edward on the throne of England. The same leniency towards the reformers continued after Mary of Guise, in 1554, had accomplished her object, and even for a short while after the celebration of the marriage between the young queen of Scots and the heir of France, which took place in 1558; and though the Scottish nobles several times mutinied against measures proposed by the queen-regent in the interest of France, their discontent was nowise connected with matters of religion.

Soon after the queen's marriage, however, the regent changed her politics—her brothers, the Princes of the House of Guise, to whom she was strongly attached, having required that she should join the league which France had formed with the pope, with Spain, and with Austria, for the destruction of the Protestants through-

out Europe. An open struggle now commenced, which soon degenerated into civil war, the regent exerting herself in every way to put down the Reformation in Scotland; while the Protestants of the country entered into a solemn engagement to each other, to peril life itself in resisting any tyrannical measures which might be directed against the members of their persuasion. Calling themselves the Congregation of the Lord, they published a formal protest against the errors of popery, which they denominated the congregation of Satan; and the people, inflamed by the preaching of Knox and other zealous but fanatical reformers, burned churches, pillaged monasteries, and committed all kinds of wild excesses; while the queen-regent, aided by French troops, endeavoured to uphold the Romish Church by military power.

As part of their plan against Protestantism, and with a hope that, as Scotland was now, as they thought, completely in their power, it might be made a means of obtaining England also, the French uncles of the queen of Scots, who governed the court of France, had, on the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the throne of England in 1558, induced Mary and the dauphin

to assume the style and title of Queen and King of England, and to quarter the arms of that country with their own. They represented that Elizabeth, after the death of her mother, Queen Anne Boleyn, was declared illegitimate; and that, as that declaration had never been reversed, she could not in right succeed to the crown; and that Mary, being the descendant of Henry VIII.'s eldest sister, was therefore the lawful heir. These representations of course carried no weight with them in the eyes of the Protestant part of the English people; but Mary Stuart, then a beautiful girl of eighteen, was persuaded of their correctness, while on the Roman Catholics of England, who were inimical to Elizabeth on account of her religion, they also made some impression; and the powerful queen of England was thus rendered the enemy of her young cousin of Scotland, and induced to adopt the cause of the reformed party in that kingdom, when they broke out into open rebellion. The assistance of an English fleet and army having been given to the Lords of the Congregation in 1560, at a most opportune moment, and the queen-regent having died on the 15th June of the same year, while the Princes of Guise,

on account of embarrassments in France, were unable to keep up the struggle in Scotland, the cause of the Reformation became now triumphant in that country. A treaty of peace with France was signed at Leith; Mary Stuart and her consort, who had succeeded to the throne of France under the title of Francis II., signed a deed granting large concessions to their Scottish subjects, and promised to lay down the title and arms of England; the French and English troops were withdrawn from the country; the reformed religion was established by statute of parliament; and a regency of several members was chosen by the Congregation to govern the country in the queen's absence.

Chapter VIII.—Queen Mary and her Son.

A few months after these events took place in Scotland, Francis II. died, and Catherine de Medicis, his mother, who became regent in

France during the minority of her younger son, Charles IX., having evinced great hostility to her young and beautiful daughter-in-law, and all the ties which bound the queen of Scots to France being thus dissevered, she determined to return to her own realm, where she arrived on the 31st August 1561, and was enthusiastically received by her people. At first, as Mary, though a Roman Catholic by education and conviction, gave her full confidence to the Protestant leaders in her kingdom, and in every way promoted the interests of the religion which was now that of the great majority of her subjects, matters went on smoothly; but the Scottish reformers were noted for a bigotry which knew not toleration, and though the queen nowise obtruded her religion on the country, the fact of her following her private devotions according to a ritual different from theirs was enough to provoke their ire and their discontent, while her foreign manners also, and the liveliness of her character, caused much scandal, though the gentleness of her disposition always led her to endeavour to conciliate. Attempts were made to break into her private chapel, to demolish the ornaments there, as

had been done elsewhere; her most innocent amusements were condemned; the Protestant preachers, and particularly John Knox, spoke of her in the pulpit in the most indecorous terms, which were afterwards repeated by the populace; and her maids of honour, and the train of brilliant nobles who accompanied her from France, soon found themselves so uncomfortable that they returned home, and left their young and lovely mistress to bear alone the unchecked outbursts of a wild fanaticism.

During four years Mary continued to reign without making any encroachments on the rights of those subjects, who would not even allow her to worship God in private according to her own conscience. During this period her hand was sought in marriage by many of the princes of Europe, in whose eyes her surpassing loveliness was enhanced by her prospects of succeeding to the throne of England. Between Elizabeth and Mary a greater degree of cordiality than marked their early intercourse had sprung up during this interval, yet the queen of Scots ever remained an object of dislike and distrust to the queen of England; and though, with habitual dissimulation, this wily monarch

pretended to be anxious that her young kinswoman should marry again, whenever a match was proposed she endeavoured in some way or other to contravene it. At length, in spite of Elizabeth's opposition, Mary determined to bestow her hand on her cousin Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, who, being young and accomplished, and singularly handsome, had won her affections. In character, however, Darnley was weak and wayward, and prone to low passions; and the queen's marriage with him laid the foundation of much misery. Its first consequence was a rebellion got up by Mary's natural brother and prime-minister, Lord James Stuart, now Earl of Murray, who feared that Darnley would supersede him in power and influence. However Mary, who acted with great promptitude and decision, speedily put down the insurrection, and the rebels, who had first been abetted, but were afterwards deserted by Elizabeth, were obliged to sue for pardon. This Mary, being of a warm and generous disposition, was on the point of granting, when an envoy arrived from her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, urging her to pursue an opposite course.

Owing to various circumstances, the Catholic

powers had been obliged for a time to suspend their plan for the extermination of Protestantism in Europe; but by this time the project had been resumed, and the cardinal therefore now represented to his niece, that by availing herself of the rebellion to crush the leaders of the Congregation, who had been the principal actors in it, she would be greatly serving the Catholic cause. Allowing the suggestions of her relatives to overcome her own better feelings and judgment, the queen now convoked a parliament for the purpose of passing an act of attainder against the rebel lords, who then, to escape the consequences of their crime, were led to give their countenance to an expedient of a most criminal nature. In the warmth of her first affection for Darnley, Mary had promised to bestow upon him the crown-matrimonial, which implied not only the title of king, but a share in the government. Soon after her marriage, however, she discovered that her consort was neither deserving of confidence nor respect, and therefore, though he enjoyed the title of king, he was allowed no political power. Darnley, enraged at this, began even in public to treat the queen with marked disrespect, and

foolishly attributed the change in her feelings towards him, not to his own misconduct, but to her favour for a clever Italian, by name Rizzio, who acted as her private and confidential secretary, and was frequently admitted to her presence to entertain her with music, in which he was a proficient. As a supposed agent of the Catholic league abroad, and one believed to be concerned in Mary's change of determination with regard to Murray and his confederates, Rizzio was also obnoxious in the eyes of the latter and of the reformed party; and in order to satisfy their revenge, and to prevent the meeting of parliament, which would infallibly condemn the rebels, all these unscrupulous men plotted together the death of the unfortunate Italian.

On the 29th of March 1566—the day fixed for the murder—Queen Mary was sitting quietly at supper with a few of her ladies, and Rizzio waiting behind her chair, when the conspirators entered and seized their victim. In vain he clung to the robes of his royal mistress for protection; in vain the queen wept, and entreated, and commanded the assassins to desist—the chief of whom were the Lords Morton, Ruthven, Lindsay, and George Douglas. Having first

stabbed the Italian over the queen's shoulder, dragged him into an adjoining room, where the rest of their associates were assembled, and there despatched him with their daggers—Lord George Douglas using Darnley's weapon, which was left in the body, to prove that the king-consort was accessory to the deed. Being in possession of the castle, they held the queen prisoner there until Darnley had dissolved the parliament, which had threatened the rebels and the Protestant cause with so much danger; but a few days after, Mary, acting upon her husband's weakness, induced him to escape with her to Dunbar. When there she gathered together an overwhelming force, and drove the assassins out of the country; but Murray and his confederates, who had at least not taken personal part in the murder, were now pardoned, and Darnley's participation was passed over in silence.

On the 19th of June the queen gave birth to a son, and her husband, who soon after their recent reconciliation had recommenced his former conduct towards her, chose the occasion of the baptism of the infant prince in December to insult her anew by absenting himself from the

ceremony. So frequent, indeed, had the quarrels between the consorts been of late that the queen's ministers began to speak to her of a divorce. To this, however, she would not listen; but the Earl of Bothwell, one of the most powerful Border chiefs, who had risen rapidly in favour, conceived the hope of obtaining her hand if she were free; and being a man of unbounded ambition, of great audacity, and of a depraved character, he determined to make her a widow by the murder of the king. Having associated with himself several other lords who were incensed against Darnley, he seized an opportunity when the king, being ill of small-pox, was separated from the queen. One of his assistants having introduced a quantity of gunpowder into the house, in one of the suburbs of Edinburgh, called the Kirk of Field, in which the king lodged, the train was fired early in the morning of the 10th February 1567, and the unhappy Darnley perished within the walls of the exploded house.

On hearing of the event, Mary seemed deeply shocked, but two days were allowed to elapse without any steps being taken to ascertain who were the murderers. The voice of the people,

however, at once proclaimed the name of Bothwell, as well as others, and Mary was implored by the Earl of Lennox, Darnley's father, and called upon in insulting terms by the populace, to bring the suspected persons to trial. Instead of so doing she heaped new marks of favour upon Bothwell, and continually admitted him to familiar intercourse with her. The public indignation was great, and the horror felt at the queen's conduct was evidenced by a growing suspicion of her having been privy to her husband's murder. That this foul suspicion against Mary's honour as a queen, a wife, and a woman, was warranted, there is no reason to believe; but unhappily, instead of acting so as to clear herself at once of the imputation, every succeeding step of hers was calculated to confirm the people in their evil thoughts. Urged by the repeated appeals made to her from all quarters, she was at length obliged to allow Bothwell to be brought to trial; but before assenting to this, she had bestowed so many offices and so much power upon him in addition to that which he derived from his feudal possessions, that it was well known beforehand that no court would venture to pronounce him guilty,

and no witnesses would dare to appear against him. As anticipated, the earl was acquitted: the indignation of the people was great; but immediately after the mock trial the queen bestowed new honours on the man generally believed to be her husband's murderer; and on her next appearance in parliament he carried the crown and the sceptre before her.

In pursuance of his audacious plans Bothwell now induced a great number of the nobility to enter into a bond to support him in his endeavours to obtain the queen's hand; and, to cut matters short, one day when the queen, with a small retinue, was returning from Stirling, where her infant son was then staying under the care of the Earl of Mar, she was seized and carried off to Dunbar Castle, then held by Bothwell. This nobleman then, in indecent haste, procured a divorce from his wife, and the queen, returning with him to Edinburgh, made known her determination to bestow her hand upon her profligate subject.

"I have taken heaven and earth to witness that I abhorr and detest this marriage, as odious and slanderous to the world, and I would exhort the faithful to pray earnestly that a union

against all reason and good conscience may yet be overrulled by God, to the comfort of this unhappy realm!" Such were the words of the Protestant clergyman who was obliged to publish the bans of the queen's marriage, after several others had refused; and the people, unable to account otherwise for her strange infatuation, ascribed Bothwell's influence over her to the power of witchcraft. For awhile after she had become his wife, the base murderer, who had been created Duke of Orkney, treated Mary with the deference due to a sovereign; but soon his brutal and passionate temper broke through all bounds, and though it was evident that her love for him continued undiminished, the queen became a changed and a most unhappy woman.

In the meanwhile a wide-spreading confederacy was formed to protect the infant prince from the machinations of the daring and wicked man who had obtained so high a position in the state, and whose ascendancy over the queen was so great that it was considered no longer safe to trust her. Much individual ambition and many bad passions were, however, also at work among the confederates, who, assembling an army, suddenly

in the night surrounded Borthwick Castle, where the queen and Bothwell then were. The duke escaped through a postern, and fled to Dunbar, where he was joined the next day by the queen, who effected her escape in man's apparel. After this failure the confederates marched to Edinburgh; issued a proclamation, declaring that they had risen in arms to avenge the death of Darnley and the forcible abduction of the queen; and displayed a banner on which was represented the body of the murdered king, with the little prince kneeling beside it, while underneath was the motto, "Judge and avenge my cause, O Lord!" People of all classes now flocked to their banners, and though Mary assembled an army to oppose to theirs, she was defeated, and induced to surrender herself. First, however, the tender-hearted woman took steps to insure the safety of her unworthy husband, who took leave of her on the field of battle, and whom she never beheld again. After much wandering and many sufferings the duke at length sought refuge in Denmark, where he ultimately died; but the queen was led in triumph to Edinburgh, there exposed to the most cruel insults from the mob, and then

transferred as a close prisoner to the castle of Lochleven, situated on a little island in the middle of a lake, and about twenty miles from Edinburgh. Here she was treated with the utmost rigour and harshness, and was eventually forced to sign three deeds, in virtue of which she abdicated the crown, transferred it to her infant son, and appointed her brother, the Earl of Murray, regent. In consequence the little prince, then thirteen months old, was crowned at Stirling on the 29th July 1567, he being carried in the arms of the Earl of Mar to and from the ceremony, which was performed with the usual pomp. By bonfires and merry-making the people expressed their joy at having got rid of their popish queen; for in the eyes of the fanatics of those days Mary's religion was always one of her chief crimes, and the one which led them to believe in every atrocious calumny propagated against her.

The queen had languished in prison several months, most jealously guarded by the mother of the Earl of Murray, when George Douglas, the younger brother of this lady's husband, wrought upon by Mary's beauty and by her misfortunes, determined to liberate her. The

first attempt miscarried—the queen, who was leaving the castle in the disguise of a laundress, having been recognised by the whiteness and delicacy of her hands. George Douglas was now expelled from the island, but continued watching in the neighbourhood with other friends of the queen, while the task of effecting her escape was intrusted to a little page within the castle. This stripling having one day cunningly obtained possession of the keys of the castle-gates, secretly conducted the queen out, locked the gates after them, so that they could not immediately be pursued, and then getting into a little boat with Mary, rowed her over to the opposite shore, where her faithful adherents were anxiously awaiting her. During her imprisonment Murray, who, as the head of the Protestant party, was very popular, had governed the country successfully and unopposed; but now the news of the queen's escape brought numerous adherents to her banners. As soon as she found herself at the head of a considerable army, she declared that her abdication had been forced, and that she now resumed all her rights; but being averse to create a civil war, she offered reconciliation and forgiveness to all. However,

her ambitious brother, the regent, nowise inclined to resign the power he had obtained, met her in battle at Langside, near Glasgow, and so totally routed her army, that she was obliged to fly. Sixty miles the queen sped along without drawing bridle, and then stopped at the lonely abbey of Dundrennan, on the borders of the Solway Firth; but fearing that as long as she was on Scottish soil she would not be safe, she rashly determined to cross over into England, and throw herself on the protection of the queen of that country.

Elizabeth, fearing the bad example set by the Scots, had protested against the imprisonment and forced abdication of their queen, and Mary had therefore reason to hope for a cordial reception. Elizabeth's personal feelings towards her kinswoman were not, however, changed; but as her great object was to keep Scotland in a state of dependence on England, no event could be more welcome to her than that which placed the queen of the country in her power. By holding possession of Mary's person, and threatening, whenever the party in power in Scotland refused to act in the interests of England, to let the captive loose, she felt that she would be able

to rule that country; and the hospitality she held out to her young kinswoman was therefore that of a prison, not of a court. Mary was informed that she could not be admitted to the presence of the queen of England as long as the accusation of so atrocious a deed as connivance at the murder of her husband was unrefuted; yet she was not allowed to quit the realm again, but was confined as a close prisoner within the strong walls of Bolton Castle. Sometime after the queen of Scots was induced by all kinds of trickery to allow Elizabeth to act as judge between her and her accusers, and Murray and several other noblemen came to England to lay their foul charges against their queen before the sovereign of a foreign country. After innumerable and protracted intrigues, in which Murray and Elizabeth's ministers endeavoured to overreach each other, the matter, however, fell to the ground. Mary remained in prison, neither her guilt nor her innocence having been proved, while Murray returned to Scotland, where civil war was again on the point of breaking out.

The friends of Queen Mary having recovered from the defeat at Langside, were preparing once more to take up arms in her behalf, and to

act in concert with the Duke of Norfolk—an English nobleman, who had plotted a Catholic rebellion in England, also with a view of liberating Mary, she having consented to marry him in case he succeeded, and she could obtain a divorce from Bothwell. In England the conspirators were put down almost without a struggle; and in Scotland Murray, who had consented to govern the country as a tool of Elizabeth, was preparing to crush the queen's party, when a violent death overtook him. He was shot, as he was passing through the town of Linlithgow, by a gentleman of the name of Hamilton, whom a private wrong had rendered a willing instrument in the hands of the faction adverse to Murray.

The regent's death was a source of much danger to the queen of England. It threatened to throw power into the hands of the Catholic party in Scotland, who, by co-operating with the same party abroad, and in her own realm, would render her throne and even her life insecure; for the great aim of all these parties was to destroy the Protestant power of England, and to place its crown on the head of the Catholic Mary Stuart. To render Scotland available for carrying out this plan, it was, however, necessary that

the country should be strengthened by the union of the various factions which divided it; and to prevent such union, therefore, now became Elizabeth's prime object. For this purpose the Earl of Lennox, the young king's grandfather, a man of weak character, and whose powerful family was at deadly feud with the equally powerful family of Hamilton, which was on the queen's side, was, by English influence, nominated regent; and an English ambassador, Sir Thomas Randolph, a master in political intrigue, was sent to Scotland, to fan the flames of party hatred, while assuming the semblance of a peacemaker. This atrocious policy bore its fruits. The country was devastated by the mutual inroads and sanguinary conflicts of the "King's Men" and the "Queen's Men," under which name Protestants and Catholics, adherents of England and of France, and those who had private feuds to carry out, stood arrayed against each other. Never, even in Scotland, had war before assumed so ferocious a character; and the law being called in to condemn as traitors the prisoners of war made on both sides, the gallows as well as the sword decimated the country. Lennox, like Murray, was shot in cold blood in

1571, and the Earl of Mar succeeded him as regent. But the country continued to be the scene of the most atrocious butcheries; commerce, manufactures, and agriculture, were entirely neglected; burning villages, beleaguered towns, houseless widows and orphans, flying in all directions, proclaimed the undivided sway of ruthless war; and within a year Mar died broken-hearted at the sight of the misery which he could not alleviate. Towards the close of his short government the queen's party lost ground, and her most inveterate enemy, the Earl of Morton, became regent at his death. This nobleman, though stained with many vices and with many crimes, possessed the firmness of character necessary for the efficient government of a country in a state like that of Scotland at that period; and being upheld by Queen Elizabeth, he was enabled to keep his post during five years, and to restore comparative tranquillity and prosperity to the country.

In the meanwhile the little king grew up under the motherly care of the widow of the Earl of Mar, and under the intellectual training of the famous scholar Buchanan. When he was five years old he was on one occasion taken to

parliament clad in his royal robes, and made to read a speech that had been prepared for him; a feat which he is said to have performed very creditably. When he was seven years old an English ambassador, who was admitted to his presence, was struck with the pretty, little, set speeches he knew how to make, and with the facility which he translated passages from one language into another; and through life James was distinguished for his literary attainments and intellectual acumen; but in body he was deformed and ungainly, and in character a poor, timid creature, ever prone to be swayed by favourites, and possessing none of the qualifications necessary for the firm government of a turbulent realm. When in 1578 he had attained the age of twelve years, he was induced to enter into a conspiracy to deprive the Earl of Morton of power; but he merely acted as the tool of others. The plot, however, succeeded; Morton was obliged to resign, and was subsequently condemned to death for participation in the murder of the king's father.

The power wrested from Morton was transferred to Esme Stuart, a cousin of the king, who had come over from France a few years

previously, and who soon became so great a favourite that he was created Earl and afterwards Duke of Lennox. But Esme being a Catholic, was distrusted by the majority of the people, and a conspiracy, at which Queen Elizabeth connived, was entered into with the object of placing the king in other hands. James was in consequence arrested when on a hunting excursion in 1582, and kept in honourable confinement at Ruthven Castle, belonging to the Earl of Gowrie, the chief of the conspirators, and Lennox was banished to France, where he died. The conspirators then governed the country in the captive king's name, but without his consent, until in the ensuing year he effected his escape, when the Earl of Gowrie was put to death, the other conspirators were banished, and the reins of government were transferred to another favourite of the name of Stuart, who was created Earl of Arran. After the lapse of two years, Arran also, though a man of great talent, fell a victim to the intrigues of the exiled lords and of Elizabeth, who feared him as a friend of the Catholic cause and of France.

During all this time Queen Mary had continued in her English prison, her son being

unable, even if he had been truly willing, to effect her liberation; but now her captivity of eighteen years was drawing to a close. As years passed on her beauty faded, her hair blanched, and the dignity of sorrow alone sat upon her royal brow; but her gentle and affectionate disposition won for her the love of the few attendants she was allowed to have around her, while her misfortunes made her an object of general sympathy, particularly among people of her own religion; and her peculiar position relative to the English crown rendered her the centre of many intrigues. At various times plots had been laid by the Catholics in England and abroad for her deliverance; for the dethronement and even assassination of Elizabeth; for the re-establishment of Catholicism in the country, and for placing Mary on its throne. With the darker features of these schemes Mary was probably not made acquainted, and each had in its turn been detected and defeated by the vigilance of Elizabeth's ministers; but every new conspiracy deepened the animosity of the queen of England, and rendered it an evermore pressing necessity to get rid of Mary. Elizabeth's ministers, therefore, now conceived the

bold project of placing the queen of Scots before an English tribunal, and condemning her to death for treason. A conspiracy against the queen of England's life and throne, headed by a Catholic by name Babington, had been detected in 1586, and the participators capitally punished. For having been accessory to this plot Mary was, in the ensuing year, put upon her trial, and found guilty by judges who had made up their minds beforehand to condemn her. On the 7th February 1587 the warrant for her execution was read to the unhappy queen at Fotheringay Castle, the place of her captivity, and listened to by her with the resignation of a spirit chastened by sorrow and suffering, and upheld by the consolations of religion. Whatever had been the errors of Mary Stuart in life, they are almost forgotten in contemplation of the many wrongs she endured, and of the beautiful forgiveness of spirit with which her last breath was spent in prayer for those who had persecuted her, as well as for those who had loved her. Even to Elizabeth who, during her long years of sorrow, had not once mitigated the atrocious political persecution which she directed against her by one act of womanly kindness, Mary

wrote a letter expressive of her forgiveness; after which she calmly prepared for death. In the middle of a great hall in Fotheringay Castle, all hung with black, was erected a scaffold with a block. On this Mary Stuart laid her sorrow-stricken head, which was severed from the body by the executioner, who, holding it up by its long locks, then exclaimed: "God save the Queen!" —meaning Queen Elizabeth; but it was not for her, but for the unhappy Mary, that a prayer was at that moment breathed by every feeling heart present.

After the deed was done, Elizabeth pretended that the death-warrant had been executed without her knowledge, and that she was filled with sorrow at the fate of her kinswoman. She put herself and her court into mourning, and sent ambassadors to Scotland to deprecate the wrath of King James, and to assure him that no one could deplore more than she did what she was pleased to term the miserable accident. James had endeavoured in vain to avert the dreadful stroke from his mother; and being of a prudent and unwarlike character, though he now talked of avenging her death, or of losing his life and his kingdom in the attempt, he allowed himself to

be pacified by concessions made by Elizabeth, and by considerations of how much he might endanger his own prospects as heir-presumptive to the crown of England were he to engage in hostilities against her. In 1587 the king attained his majority, and on the occasion made an attempt to heal the dreadful feuds which now, as ever, were distracting Scotland; but James VI., the weakest of the Scottish monarchs, was not likely to be the one to cure the disease which seemed to have grown with the growth of the kingdom; and in truth the remedy which he applied was of a rather mild and fanciful character for the times. After the conclusion of parliament, a festive board was spread at the Cross of Edinburgh, and the nobles having first been harangued and apparently reconciled by the king at the Palace of Holyrood, emerged thence, each hand in hand with his hereditary foe, and passing up the principal street in formal procession, took their seats at the board of concord, where they drank to each other's prosperity, and were cheered by the citizens who stood around, while the guns of the castle announced to the country that old feuds were being healed—that wine was washing out blood. No sooner,

however, was the feast concluded than its object was forgotten.

James's next undertaking was to seek for a consort for himself. For this purpose he addressed himself to the king of Denmark; but Queen Elizabeth, who had always proved that she did not like the heir-presumptive to her crown to marry and to have children, and thus to become more popular and important in the eyes of her people, here again interfered, and the Princess-Royal of Denmark was bestowed upon another prince. In some things, however, King James had a will of his own, and determined to have a wife, and not to allow himself 'to be led by the nose,' as he informed his lieges. He now sued for the hand of a second daughter of Denmark, and went over himself to her country to fetch her. He returned to Scotland with his wife in 1590, and then set about punishing a band of witches, whom his majesty believed to be guilty of having stirred up the adverse winds which had impeded his homeward voyage. It was probably such proceedings as these, together with his grotesque humour and manners, and his various literary attainments, which obtained for James the name of the

wisest fool in Christendom. If the wisest, he was, for a monarch, probably also the poorest; for so dilapidated had the royal revenues become in the course of the long struggles that the country had undergone, that almost the only income poor King James could rely upon was a small pension granted to him by Queen Elizabeth; and he was often reduced to the most extraordinary straits. For the furnishing of the little vessel in which he proceeded to Denmark he was indebted to two private individuals; and soon after his return he was obliged to apply to another for the loan of a carriage to take her majesty a drive. Letters also are extant in the king's own handwriting, addressed to the lairds in the neighbourhood of his residence, asking them to furnish him with a few hens and geese for his table; while on another occasion he applied to the Earl of Mar for the loan of a pair of silk stockings, in which he might make a decent appearance before the Spanish ambassador. Many of James's pecuniary difficulties were no doubt owing to his want of economy, and to the weakness and indolence which made it seem impossible to him to refuse when he was asked, and which caused much of the public

treasure to be squandered on undeserving persons, while the queen also contributed to exhaust the royal purse by her taste for expensive pleasures.

Although the royal finances were in so deplorable a condition, the country had made some advance in wealth and general enlightenment; which proves, that though its history is little else than a succession of violent struggles, dark conspiracies, and base intrigues, better influences also were silently at work. Indeed the check which the power of the Scottish nobles imposed upon that of the kings, had always prevented the monarchs from any arbitrary acts of oppression against the people, and had even made them seek a support against their barons in the affections of the lower orders; while the barons, being constantly at feud with the crown and with each other, were also obliged to conciliate the good-will of their dependents; and thus the struggles of the great and powerful afforded protection to the lowly and weak. The Scottish people were not, therefore, up to this time oppressed by unjust laws; and though the development of commerce and industry was repeatedly checked by anarchy

and civil discord, yet each interval of comparative tranquillity brought back renewed prosperity; and at this period the wealthy burghers had become an influential order in the state, who at times displayed their opulence by rich gifts to their sovereign. In addition to commerce and industry, the printing-presses also, of which there were several at work in all the great towns, were spreading ennobling influences through the country; and the benefits of education being more and more appreciated, schools were springing up even in remote localities; while the reformed religion, though it was defaced by much fanaticism, and mixed up with much base factious strife, had nevertheless enlightened men's consciences, by placing in their hands the Bible—a test by which to try right and wrong, moral truth and falsehood.

The feudal power of the Scottish nobility, however, remained undiminished, and their character unchanged, and for thirteen years more the private wars, the prosecution of blood-revenge, the bonds of man-rent, the foreign intrigues, which had always been the bane of Scotland, and to which were now added a struggle between the crown and the church,

continued to desolate the land. The barons, rendered more insolent than ever by the king's poverty and by his weakness, which suffered the greatest enormities to pass with impunity, dictated to the monarch on all matters of government; thrust themselves uninvited into his councils; and when they could attain power by no other means, had recourse to their old expedient of making themselves masters of the king's person, and while holding him captive, forcing him to comply with their wishes. Several times after his marriage, as before it, James was thus a prisoner in the hands of some mighty lord or other among his subjects, while from the clergy he suffered almost as great indignities. In the year 1603, however, an event happened that made a great change in the position of King James VI. of Scotland, and in the destinies of his little kingdom.

Chapter IX.—The Union of the Crowns of England and Scotland—The Covenanters—The Last of the Stuarts.

Although Queen Elizabeth of England would never allow the question of the succession to her crown to be settled by parliament, and although she continued to the very last to refuse to name her successor, she had never denied King James's right by inheritance; and as she advanced in years her people turned their eyes more and more towards Scotland, and many of her courtiers began to seek the favour of their future monarch. Among the latter was Elizabeth's famous minister Cecil, who, two years before her death, entered into intimate but secret correspondence with James, and prepared everything for his peaceful accession to the throne of England immediately on the demise of the great princess. The death of her favourite Essex in 1601 had shattered the mind and the constitution of this extraordinary

woman; gradually she sank into a state of great weakness and helplessness, and on the 24th March 1603 it became evident that her life was fast drawing to a close. Anxious that no difficulties should impede James's accession, Cecil now again endeavoured to induce her to name her successor. "My seat has been the seat of kings, and none but a king must succeed me," answered the brave old queen, proud in death as she had been in life, but still strangely unwilling to give a direct answer. Cecil urged her to be more explicit, and mentioned the king of France. She remained silent. He then named the king of Scots. She gave no sign. He next pronounced the name of Lord Beauchamp, a descendant of Mary Tudor, the younger sister of Henry VIII.; but the queen, rousing herself from her lethargy, exclaimed: "I will have no rascal's son in my seat!" and these, it is said by some, were her last words. But Cecil, however, declared that later in the night the queen had, upon his reiterated questions as to whether the king of Scots was to be her successor, given a sign of assent; and in consequence James was immediately proclaimed king of England—the first of the name in that country.

The intelligence, which reached Scotland three days after, filled the king and the people with joy and exultation. James rejoiced in the prospect of coming into possession of the power and wealth, the humiliating want of which he had felt so bitterly in Scotland; and the people exulted in the idea of giving a monarch to the country, the kings of which had, during so many centuries, endeavoured to undermine their independence.

On the Sunday following the receipt of the intelligence of his proclamation as king of England, James, after having attended divine service in the High Church of St Giles in Edinburgh, rose and delivered a farewell address to his Scottish people, which moved all present to tears; and on the 5th of April he set out for England, where he was expected with impatience. In proof of his desire that there should be no distinction between his subjects, he now merged the distinctive appellations of his two realms into that of the kingdom of Great Britain; thenceforward the name of the British people was given to the inhabitants of the two countries, and with the adoption of these appellations properly ends the history of Scotland as a distinct country, and of the Scots

as a distinct nation. But though King James also endeavoured to bring about a complete political fusion of the two countries, this was not effected until one hundred years later, and up to that period the social condition of the two people remained in a great measure distinct.

In England, James, with his grotesque humour and undignified manners, and his love of arbitrary power, coupled with excessive weakness of character and indolent submission to unworthy favourites, proved anything but a popular monarch; and though here he was not thwarted by an overbearing nobility, he had to contend with the still more formidable opposition of a House of Commons, jealous of its privileges; and he soon found that the dreams of unrestrained power in which he had indulged on being called to the English throne were not to be realised. In Scotland, however, the king's influence was greatly increased by his accession to the crown of the more important kingdom; for he acquired not only the power to coerce the Scottish nobles, should they continue to resist his commands, but also the means of purchasing their submission by bestowing riches and honours upon them. Of these last means,

indeed, he availed himself so freely as greatly to incense the English, at whose expense the concessions were made; but he so completely succeeded in turning the fierce and independent spirit of the Scottish nobles, that they vied with each other in cheerful obedience to his commands; and during the remainder of his reign, Scotland enjoyed an unwonted degree of tranquillity and prosperity. On one point, however, the variance which had always existed between King James and his Scottish subjects continued. This was the constitution of the church. At the period of the Reformation the Church of Scotland had been constituted on the model of that of Geneva—that is to say, Episcopacy had been abolished, the use of the surplice abandoned, and all set forms of prayer abjured; and the government of the church was vested in the hands of presbyteries, synods, and a general assembly. To this form of church government—which partook of the character of republicanism, in as far as the governing bodies were chosen by the congregations themselves, and which made the church quite independent of the sovereign—James had always been opposed, and he had, during the former part of

his reign, made repeated endeavours to subvert it, and to reintroduce Episcopacy, but without success. In 1607, however, during a personal visit of the king to his Scottish capital, a new attempt was made, and was so far successful that the Episcopalian form of church government, though not of public worship, was formally established; but it was submitted to by the people with great repugnance, and caused an irritation which ultimately led to most disastrous events.

King James, the sixth of the name in Scotland, but the first in England, died in 1625, and was succeeded by his son Charles I., who having gone to England in childhood, and having received his education in that country, had not the same predilections for his Scottish subjects as his father ever maintained, and he took no pains to conciliate them. The nobles perceiving this, and being further provoked by some encroachments on their supposed rights, and apprehensive of others, were therefore ready to make common cause with the other classes of the people, when Charles, by an unwise enforcement of the use of the English liturgy and of the surplice in the churches of Scotland, roused

the popular fanaticism. Not only Episcopacy but popery, which the Scots held in utter abhorrence, was to be introduced, it was said, and there was no hope left for the people but in their own power of resistance. The first attempt to carry out the hateful ordinances was made in Edinburgh; but no sooner had the dean appeared in his surplice and cope than the greatest tumult arose. Numerous discordant voices were heard from all sides of the church, giving utterance to the most offensive invectives; and stools and clasped Bibles were hurled at the head of the clergyman. The bishop, who was present, ascended the pulpit to endeavour to lay the storm, but in vain. He was assailed in the same manner as the dean; and when he left the church, the mob followed him, and the disgraceful riot was continued in the streets. The most considerable towns in the south and west of Scotland followed the example set by the capital; and though all persons of honourable and delicate feelings deplored the unworthy manner in which the populace evinced its repugnance to the new state of things the government was endeavouring to introduce, this repugnance was nevertheless participated by all classes, and a system

of organised resistance was soon established throughout the country. King Charles, however, obstinately adhered to his resolutions, and the whole Scottish people then entered into a bond with each other, as parties among the nobles used to do of old, to uphold their religious rights. Copies of this bond, which was called the Solemn League and Covenant, for the subversion of prelacy and the maintenance of the Presbyterian form of worship, were sent through the country for signature, and were signed and sworn to by enthusiastic multitudes, particularly in the Lowlands; and when it was found that the king still persisted in carrying out his object, all classes ran to arms with equal zeal.

Headed by General Alexander Leslie, a veteran of great experience, the army of the Covenant in 1639 seized all the royal forts in Scotland within three days, and then advanced towards the Tweed, to meet a small force which King Charles had assembled to coerce them. This was the first time perhaps in the course of centuries that unanimity prevailed in a Scottish camp, and the spirit evinced by men and officers proved how different was the cause for

which they were assembled from any that had before gathered together a Scottish army. Every morning and evening the drums called the soldiers not only to drill but to prayer. They were exercised by their officers in religious as well as in military duties, and mostly spent their leisure time in private meditations on religious subjects, or in listening to the fervent exhortations of their ministers, who had girt round the sword and accompanied them to the camp. In front of the tent of each commander of a regiment floated a banner with the arms of Scotland, and the inscription: "For Christ's Crown and Covenant," and scarcely a profane expression was ever heard to desecrate the cause which these solemn words denoted.

The king was greatly weakened by the disaffected and rebellious spirit which prevailed at this period in England also, where the Puritan party in many points sympathised with the Scottish Presbyterians, and he found himself in consequence incapable of putting the latter down by force. His next endeavour was therefore to sow divisions among them, and to gain partisans by means of flattery and favour. But one only of the Scottish nobles abandoned the

national cause; and although this nobleman, the Earl, afterwards Marquis of Montrose, being a man of great abilities, was enabled gradually to form a Royalist party in the country, and to create some mischief by his intrigues, the king was, nevertheless, eventually obliged to yield to the wishes of his Scottish subjects, and to give up enforcing the observance of the new ritual.

During two years after this Scotland remained quiet; but in 1643 Charles I., who had a severe struggle to sustain in England—of which you may read an account in the history of that country—had gained some advantages over his adversaries there, and the Scots, fearing that a resumption of power might induce him to revoke the concessions made to them, entered into an alliance with the revolutionary party in England, and marching into that country, commenced a new campaign against their sovereign. But while the Covenanters were thus engaged in England, Montrose, traversing Scotland in disguise, reached the Highlands, and having there gathered around him a small Royalist force, once more made the country the scene of civil war. During two years this able leader and his Highland followers kept up a

desultory state of warfare, performing prodigies of valour, causing bloodshed and misery, but effecting no permanent change in favour of the royal cause. At length a succession of reverses forced him to fly to Norway; while the king, unable to hold out any longer against his rebellious English subjects, in 1646 sought refuge in the camp of the Scottish Covenanters, some changes which had occurred in the relations between the Scots and the English having induced him to take this step. When the alliance between the Covenanters and the refractory parliament of England was entered into in 1643, the Puritans in that country shewed a great partiality for the Presbyterian form of worship; and it was solely in the hope that if the king were brought to submission this system of religion would be established in England also, that the Scots had consented to join forces with the English malcontents. But since then the English Puritans had adopted more extreme views. In their eyes even Presbyterianism now smacked too much of earthly government; the greater number of them had become Independents in religion, admitting of no species of church government, of no clerical body what-

ever, and of no fixed system of worship, while in politics they had become decided republicans; and thus the bond of union between them and the Scottish Covenanters had been in a great measure dissevered. In placing himself in the hands of the latter, the king hoped, therefore, that this proof of confidence would entirely win for him the more loyal Scots; but he was soon undeceived. As regarded the one great subject of discontent among his Scottish subjects, Charles could not prevail upon himself to make a full concession; and therefore, though he was treated with a certain degree of respect, he perceived that he was regarded as a prisoner by the Scottish generals; and, besides being compelled to listen to severe and pointed harangues against tyranny, he was forced to issue orders causing his adherents to lay down arms.

On learning that the king had sought refuge in the Scottish camp, the English parliament and army, anxious to obtain possession of his person, and fearful lest his sojourn among the Covenanters might induce the latter to espouse his cause, made a formal demand that he should be surrendered to them. The Scots proudly answered that they were an independent nation,

and being as much King Charles's subjects as the English, had as full right to retain him. But the English next threatened; and the Covenanters, dreading a conflict in which they could not hope to succeed, and being moreover tempted by the promise of the payment of a sum of money due to them by the English, basely delivered up the king into the hands of his enemies. Having done this, the army of the Covenant returned to Scotland, from which it had been absent four years, and for awhile took no further part in the struggle which was carried on in England, where the king was first held captive by the parliament and afterwards by the parliamentary army, which eventually became the chief power in the state. When, however, in 1648, the misfortunes of the king and the arbitrary conduct of his enemies had caused a reaction in his favour in England, a moderate party among the Scots also took arms in his behalf; but they were defeated, and the more fanatical Covenanters who had opposed the movement then came into power in Scotland, and were supported by Oliver Cromwell, then also high in power in England.

The execution of King Charles I., which took

place in the ensuing year, nevertheless filled the whole Scottish nation with horror, not only because it was at heart attached to monarchical principles, but also because such a proceeding was a violation of the Covenant, which solemnly professed regard for the king's person; and therefore, while in England a republic was proclaimed after Charles's death, the Scots upheld the rights of his eldest son, the Prince of Wales, and acknowledged him as their sovereign. The young prince, who had fled to Holland, was immediately invited over to Scotland, the nation offering to aid his restoration to the throne of England on condition of his signing the Covenant, and binding himself to establish the Presbyterian form of worship throughout his dominions; for the fanaticism of the Scots had increased with the opposition they had encountered, and no longer content with securing religious liberty to themselves, they now considered as enemies and godless outcasts all who differed from themselves, and believed themselves called upon to establish their form of worship in England also. Before the king acceded, an attempt to relieve him from the necessity of purchasing the succession to his

rights by concessions so distasteful to him was made by the Marquis of Montrose, who passed with a small force over to the north of Scotland. The expedition, however, proved abortive. Montrose, one of the most valiant, but also one of the most cruel commanders of the times, was taken prisoner, and condemned to death by the Covenanters, to whose conditions Charles was then obliged to submit. The first sight which greeted him on his entry into Aberdeen was one of the limbs, exposed above the prison gates, of the gallant soldier who had endeavoured to spare him this humiliation; and the spirit that prevailed in the nation soon evinced itself in other ways equally painful to him. Instead of being surrounded by a gay and brilliant court in consonance with his own frivolous tastes, the prince found himself in the midst of rigid fanatics, who considered it their first duty to endeavour to convert him to Presbyterianism, and who, in terms little suited to royal ears, rebuked him for the love of pleasure which he could not always conceal. In general, however, he submitted with singular patience to their lecturing, and one Sunday, it is said, he even sat out six sermons; but in spite of these sacri-

fices, which to a man of such levity of character as King Charles II. cannot have been very easy, he found he was but a puppet in the hands of his Scottish subjects. Though he was nominally placed at the head of the army which was assembled for the maintenance of his cause, the command was in reality vested in David Leslie, and all persons suspected of being too exclusively devoted to the king were dismissed from its ranks; while, in order that no mistake might take place as regarded the chief object for which the Covenanters were in arms, the appellation of 'The Army of the Kirk' was given to their forces.

In consequence of ministers of religion exercising more authority in this strange host of fanatics than experienced generals, it was signally defeated by Oliver Cromwell near Dunbar; and as the Royalists thus for awhile obtained greater ascendancy in Scotland, the next army that was marched thence into England was in reality commanded by the king, who had been crowned at Scone in 1651. But the Royalists in England did not, as was expected, flock to Charles's banners; and ultimately the king also was defeated at Worcester by Oliver Cromwell,

the extraordinary man who was for a time to wield the destinies of Great Britain. Two thousand Scots fell in this battle, 7000 were taken prisoners, and the king, obliged to fly from the field, reached France, after having spent forty-one days as a fugitive, and encountered adventures more romantic than any that were ever invented by the most fertile imagination.

The battle of Worcester decided the fate of the British islands. The republican party in England was now triumphant, and the formal submission of Scotland to the British parliament was signed in 1652, and with the exception of an unsuccessful royalist movement made in the ensuing year, the country remained tranquil during the whole of Cromwell's Protectorate. The nobility of Scotland were involved in the ruin of the crown. The men who, during centuries, had lorded it so insolently over monarch and people, were reduced to a state of extreme poverty, and were divested of all influence; but, unfortunately for the country, the same misery extended to all classes of the people; while such was their moral degeneracy, that each party seemed to find consolation in

the thought that its adversaries had as much to suffer as itself. The people are described by contemporary English writers as half-starved and half-naked; and the English judges who were sent thither to administer justice were appalled by the number of crimes brought under their notice. But in Scotland, as in England, Cromwell used his ill-gotten power to introduce good government, and before the Restoration, the country had in a great measure recovered from this state of depression; for the toleration which the Covenanters enjoyed cured their asperity without cooling their zeal, and religious culture, with its attendant virtues, had spread comparative peace and happiness through the land.

Nevertheless Scotland felt the pressure of the military despotism that weighed upon it, and nowhere was the Restoration of King Charles II. in 1660, after the death of the Lord Protector Cromwell, hailed with more delight than in the native land of the Stuarts. This delight, however, was changed into dismay when it was found that again Episcopacy was to be forced upon the people. The whole of the revolution which had ended in the execution of King

Charles I., and the establishment of a republic in Britain, had been so intimately connected with independent views in religion, that it was now considered more necessary than ever, for the consolidation of the power of the sovereign, to establish throughout his dominions the Episcopalian Church, which, by acknowledging his supremacy in ecclesiastical matters, set a bright example of loyalty and submission. In Scotland, as in England, the excesses which had been committed in the name of liberty had been so great, that the people were quite willing to allow the restored king to govern in civil matters as absolutely as he liked, but to the violation of their religious principles they were not so easily reconciled. When an attempt was made to force the clergy into conformity by threatening to expel them from their benefices, 300 clergymen in one district alone gave up their charges rather than obey. Their example was soon after followed by many others; and though the government appointed in their places more compliant men, the congregations abandoned the churches of the latter to flock to prayer-meetings in the houses of their former pastors. Seeing this, the government had recourse to the

most flagitious means to enforce conformity to the religion established by violence. Heavy fines were imposed for every act of recusancy, and for every act arbitrarily represented as such; and detachments of licentious soldiers were quartered on the individuals under sentence until the fines were paid. In Galloway and Dumfriesshire 50,000 pounds Scots were raised in fines in a few weeks, even the destitute being not exempted, but being forced to beg in order to provide the means for covering the fines imposed upon them. These exactions were for a time met with passive resistance only; but when the military added to their other oppressions and offences gross acts of cruelty, the patience of the Covenanters in some localities was exhausted, and they took to arms, but without any definite purpose. An insurrection, got up without any preconcerted plan, was easily quelled; but such was the brutality with which the vanquished were treated, that an aged Presbyterian clergyman, living in a suburb of Edinburgh through which they were conducted, having opened his window to gaze upon the melancholy spectacle, was so affected as to die from grief shortly after. Twenty-one of the prisoners were executed

within one week. Among their number was a young clergyman by name Hugh M'Kail, who was suspected only of having been concerned in the insurrection, and was therefore first subjected to the dreadful operation of the "boot"—an instrument of torture, by means of which the limb introduced into it was literally, and by a slow process, reduced to a jelly. M'Kail had nothing to confess, yet his atrocious sufferings were only ended by his death on the gibbet. These executions took place in Edinburgh; but in the provinces the insurgents were persecuted in like manner, until the very executioners refused to perform their work, and preferred exposing themselves to punishment rather than inflict death and suffering on those whom they felt were only following their religious convictions.

No extent of suffering could prevail upon the Covenanters to renounce their religious principles; but when they could meet in no other way for public worship, they assembled on the hill-sides, or in some lonely glen, where their fanaticism was increased by the gloom and wildness of the surrounding scenery. In 1679, however, they broke out again into open rebellion;

but though for a time successful, they were ultimately totally routed by the Duke of Monmouth in the battle of Bothwell Bridge, and shortly after the country again became the scene of atrocities and oppressions unequalled even in the most barbarous times. In 1685 King Charles II. ended his ignominious life, and was succeeded by his brother, James VII. of Scotland and II. of England, the Roman Catholic Duke of York, whom the English people had in vain endeavoured to exclude from the succession on account of his religion. During the short reign of this bigoted prince, nothing was changed in the state of Scotland, except in so far as the prime object of the king being to introduce Catholicism, Episcopalians as well as Presbyterians were now threatened in their dearest interests, and the opposition to the king's government became more unanimous. It was, however, in England, not in Scotland, that James II.'s encroachments on the civil and religious liberties of his people were most strenuously resisted; and it was in this country that the revolution was effected which in 1688 drove him into exile, and transferred his crown to his eldest daughter Mary, and her husband

William, Prince of Orange—who were both Protestants—to the exclusion of his infant son, born just before the outbreak of the revolution. Yet in Scotland the enthusiasm of the nation at its deliverance from popery and absolutism was even greater than in England. The Covenanters at once ran to arms to support the revolution in England; and though a party made a demonstration in favour of King James, the Scots, following the example of the English, in April 1689 declared James Stuart to have forfeited the crown, and settled the sovereignty of the kingdom on William and Mary, and their direct heirs; and, failing these, on the Princess Anne, James's second daughter, who had also been brought up in the Protestant religion. Subsequently, indeed, when King James for a time regained a footing in Ireland, his adherents in Scotland, and more particularly in the Highlands, again made an effort in his behalf; but the gallant Graham of Claverhouse, created Viscount Dundee, who commanded the Jacobites, as James's partisans were called, was killed by a stray shot after the battle of Killiecrankie, in which he had defeated the government troops; and the victory remaining, in

consequence, without results, the whole of Scotland fell under the dominion of the new sovereigns.

The Presbyterian Church was once more established by law in Scotland, and the Solemn League and Covenant, though still upheld by a party, lost its significance as a nation's protest against violence done to its conscience; for religious persecutions now ceased in Scotland, while civil liberty also was secured to the country by the Claim of Rights that circumscribed the prerogatives of the crown, which, since the accession of the Stuarts to the throne of England, had been so injuriously extended. But while the effects of these happy changes on the mind of the nation were evincing themselves in the establishment of beneficial institutions, and in the formation of more extensive plans for the development of commerce and industry, two events happened which, above all others, were calculated to keep up that state of political agitation, and those strong party sympathies and antipathies which invariably follow a great state revolution, through means of which established rights and institutions have been uprooted. Large sums of money had been

expended by government on the Highland chiefs, to induce them to give up their Jacobite predilections; yet it was perceived that they remained disaffected. A proclamation was in consequence issued, threatening military execution with fire and sword upon all those who should not make their submission within a given day. But notwithstanding this proclamation, it seems to have been the desire of the Earl of Breadalbane and Sir John Dalrymple, the state functionaries in Scotland, that the Highlanders should hold out, in order to afford the government an opportunity of making an effectual example of them. The chieftains, however, made their submission in due time, with the exception of the leader of a small tribe of Macdonalds, who was prevented by accident from so doing until the day after that which was fixed in the proclamation as the ultimate term. It was proved that the delay arose from circumstances over which Macdonald had no control; but he was personally obnoxious to Breadalbane, and a detachment of soldiers was despatched to the valley of Glencoe, inhabited by the doomed race, to carry out the sentence denounced against the tardy. In the dead of a

winter's night the old chief and all the males of his clan, some of them mere boys, were butchered in cold blood; while fire was set to their habitations, their women driven forth to perish miserably amidst the snows that lay thick upon the mountains, and all their movable property carried off by their cruel executioners. King William's name was affixed to the document that authorised this deed of horror, and the unpopularity he incurred was commensurate with the grief and indignation it inspired. A few years afterwards it was proved that the king had been misled by the secretary of state for Scotland, who at that time had the direction of government affairs in that country; but a new event now occurred to imbitter the spirit of the Scots.

As a means of enabling Scottish merchants to participate in the benefits of the East India trade, which was at that time, as regards Great Britain, monopolised by a company of London merchants, a scheme was devised in Scotland for the settlement of a colony on the Isthmus of Darien in America, which, by forming a depôt [illegible]e merchandise of the east and west on [illegible]nparatively narrow strip of land, which

separates the Atlantic from the Pacific, might spread them thence over all other countries. The plan seemed so promising, that a large sum of money was at once subscribed, and 1200 Scots settled in the chosen spot, and were soon followed by 1600 more of their countrymen. But Spain, Holland, and England became jealous lest their commerce should suffer; and King William, who had at first encouraged the scheme, now withdrew his sanction. Provision-ships, which had been commissioned to carry supplies to the settlers, were stopped by an order from the government: hunger and disease, in consequence, wasted the numbers of the unfortunate colonists, and while thus reduced they were attacked and forced to surrender by the Spaniards, who maintained that they had an exclusive right to the territory occupied, and who were, it was believed, countenanced by the king of Great Britain. All the money vested in this great Scottish enterprise was thus irrecoverably lost; few of the colonists ever again reached their native land; and as among their original number there had been 300 individuals of superior birth, almost every family of note in Scotland lost wealth and kindred by the

undertaking, and sorrow and dismay reigned throughout the country. In the ensuing year, 1700, the public distress was heightened by a dreadful famine; and the exasperation felt against the government and against the English, whose narrow-minded commercial policy had proved so disastrous to Scotland, was increased by misfortunes over which they had no control. When, therefore, William III. died in 1702—Queen Mary having preceded him in the grave without having borne him any children—the Scots, instead of immediately acknowledging the Princess Anne, as they were bound to do, evinced some inclination to call in the son of the dethroned King James VII., who, on the death of his father in 1700, had immediately been recognised by Louis XIV. of France as king, under the title of James VIII. of Scotland and III. of England. But however sincere the Jacobite party, which continued to exist in Scotland, may have been as regards this plan, by the great majority of the nation it was merely held out as a threat to force the English into commercial concessions. When these were attained, the Scottish parliament even assented to a proposal made by the government for th

incorporation of Scotland with England, by the union of the legislatures of the two countries, which was in consequence effected in 1707; from which period forward the great council of the nation has been denominated the Parliament of Great Britain.

By this union, which completed the political amalgamation of the two nations, the Scots, though secured in the enjoyment of their own laws, customs, and religion, were made participators in all the privileges and advantages of the English. Yet this act, which was fraught with the most beneficial consequences to both countries, and which, for Scotland in particular, marks the great era of her emancipation from feudal oppression, was viewed with much discontent. It had been brought about by a parliament which nowise represented the opinions of the people, and which had been bought over by English gold, and the services of which were therefore by no means appreciated. On the contrary, the Scots, who had always prided themselves so much on their independence—which for upwards of a century and a half had, however, been merely nominal—felt the extinction of their individuality as a nation as a cause

of deep humiliation; and as party feeling ran high in England at the time, and a spirit of hostility instead of conciliation towards them was evinced, a feeling of exasperation and discontent was engendered in the country. Availing himself of this feeling, the Pretender—as the son of the dethroned James II. is generally called—sailed from France in 1708 with a small army, intending to land in Scotland and prefer his claim to the crown. An accident, however, prevented the landing, and upset the whole plan; but subsequently the prince had a chance of succeeding in a peaceful and legal manner to the throne of his fathers. The succession had, on the demise of Queen Anne's only child, been settled on Sophia, Electress of Hanover, granddaughter of James VI., and on her direct heirs, because of their being Protestants; but Queen Anne, who seems to have been inspired by affection for her young brother, was endeavouring to get this law altered in his favour, when she was surprised by sudden death in 1714. The Elector of Hanover, son of Sophia, who died before the queen, in consequence succeeded to the throne of Great Britain under the title of George I.; but very soon after the Jacobites

of Scotland, in connection with a number of English Tories, who were exasperated at the king's excessive partiality for the Whigs, resumed the scheme of upholding the claims of the Pretender.

On the 6th April 1715 the Earl of Mar, at the head of 300 of his tenantry, proclaimed James VIII. at Braemar, and soon the people who had gathered so enthusiastically under the banners of the Covenant to do battle against a Protestant Stuart, who was only endeavouring to force upon them another form of Protestant worship, were flocking round the standard of a Catholic Stuart, with the intention of expelling their Protestant monarch. From April until November the numbers of the insurgents continued to increase, until their numbers in the field amounted to 16,000. The whole of the north of Scotland was in their power, while their forces in the south had effected a junction with a party of English Jacobites, who had risen in the northern counties of England. Yet the incapacity and want of union among the leaders, and the want of discipline among the men, together with the military skill of the Duke of Argyle, who commanded the veteran troops sent

by the government to oppose the insurgents, led to the total discomfiture of the Pretender's plans and prospects at the very moment that he himself landed in Scotland, and issued proclamations as if he were already seated safely on the throne. In spite of the desperate state of his affairs, it was determined that he should be crowned at Scone on the 23d January; but by that time his adherents were already dispersed, and he was obliged to return to France, to die, like his father, an exile in the land that had so hospitably received them when they were driven forth from their own country by two indignant nations.

Thirty years elapsed, in the course of which George I. died and was succeeded by his son George II.; and in the industrious Lowlands of Scotland, where the benefits of the union with England were being felt in the increased prosperity, which was the result of extended liberties, of internal peace, and of the opening up of new channels for the enterprise of the nation, all hostility towards England and towards the reigning dynasty was gradually dying out. But in the Highlands it was different. This part of the country had advanced but little in

the course of centuries. Here the strong feeling of partisanship and feudal attachment, and the contempt for established law, which characterised the earlier periods of Scottish history, still survived, and the people clung to the memory of the Stuarts with a fondness proportionate to their love of their own nationality. The chiefs of the Highland clans were much more assiduous in their attendance at the court of the exiled Stuarts than at that of the British monarch; and seven Scottish Jacobites of rank and power at one time entered into a bond again to raise their dependents in favour of the Pretender whenever 6000 French troops should be landed in Scotland to support them. In 1744, at a period when Great Britain was engaged in war with several of the great powers in Europe, and when the best part of the nation was alienated from the government by the corrupt administration of Sir Robert Walpole, this offer was renewed, and eagerly embraced by Prince Charles Edward, the son of the Pretender, a youth of great promise, and of most amiable manners and attractive appearance. Overlooking the stipulated condition as to the assistance of a French force, the young

prince embarked on the 20th June 1745, and landed on the coast of Inverness-shire on the 19th July; and such was the enthusiasm which his name and presence inspired, that when the standard of the Stuarts was for the last time unfurled in the wild Pass of Glenfinnan, numbers of the Highland chiefs, though despairing of success in the absence of a foreign auxiliary force, nevertheless led forth their clans to fight for the descendant of their ancient race of monarchs. For a time they carried everything before them. By the 17th of September the Young Chevalier—as the prince was generally called—who had landed with seven attendants only, was at the head of an army of 4000 men, had taken possession of Perth and Stirling, had made himself master of Edinburgh, and was holding his court at Holyrood House. From Edinburgh he went forth to give battle to the royal troops at Prestonpans, on the southern shore of the Firth of Forth; and on his return after a brilliant victory, King James VIII. was proclaimed at the Cross. But six weeks were now wasted in inaction, and when the prince, after the lapse of this time marched into England, where he hoped to be joined by numerous

partisans, though he penetrated as far south as Derby, he found that recruits came in but slowly; and having been met by a formidable English army raised by the government, he was forced to withdraw into Scotland again. Discord also had already begun to prevail among his followers; and though Charles Edward evinced throughout brilliant military talents, and the charm of his manner and conversation exercised an irresistible influence on those that surrounded him, yet poverty, hunger, and other disasters daily weakened his strength, and hereditary enmities and individual jealousies proved stronger than the love of his cause. At length, in the middle of April 1746, the cause of the Stuarts succumbed on the field of Culloden, and never rose again. The unhappy originator of the civil war fled with a few attendants towards the western coast of Inverness-shire, and thence reached one of the remoter Hebrides. Hoping to fall in with a French vessel, he continued to wander from one island to another of this group, exposed to the greatest hardships and dangers, as the government had received intelligence of his whereabouts, and the zeal of its emissaries

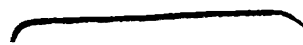
had been heightened by the price of £30,000 placed upon his head. But this proved no temptation to the poor but generous people among whom he was thrown, and on many occasions the most heroic self-devotion was evinced by those who endeavoured to save the young and interesting prince. At one time he was saved by a young lady, by name Flora Macdonald, who dressed him in woman's attire, and passed him off as her servant; another time he was concealed during several weeks in the cave of a gang of robbers, who well knew what they might gain by betraying him; latterly he was sheltered for some time in a secret place on the summit of some high rocks, whence he at length succeeded in escaping on board a French vessel, which, passing through the English fleet in a dense fog, carried him in safety to France.

The government visited with dire vengeance the participators in this rebellion, and it proved the ruin of many Scottish families; but eventually it led to the most happy results for Scotland. England had discovered what a source of danger the sister kingdom might be

if left to harbour feelings and develop interests distinct from her own, and measures were therefore taken to place the two countries in every way on an equal footing. The feudal system which, though in a modified form, still prevailed in Scotland, was now entirely abolished; the undue influence of the landlords was destroyed; the peasantry became for the first time free citizens; and a step was taken towards the extinction of the exaggerated local attachments and distinctive peculiarities of the Highlanders, by forbidding the use of their national costume. The beneficial effects of these measures were soon felt in improved husbandry, manufactures, and commerce; and the country has ever since gone on in a state of prosperity and social happiness. In the present day Scotland is so intimately connected with England, and so many differences have been obliterated, that there cannot be said to be any longer a separate interest. In manners, dress, language, literature, and general enterprise, there is scarcely a distinction. The only things which remain to mark that Scotland was once a separate monarchy are the peculiar laws and local tribunals, and

the church establishment—both insured by the Act of Union. It is pleasing to say that in all matters of imperial concern the English and Scotch act as brethren; and, accordingly, reap that rich reward which is never denied to those who dwell together in peace.

THE END.





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